



Daily Report

Soviet Union

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16 January 1991

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Chervov on Soviet Tank Redeployment Behind Urals

AU1601102991 Bratislava VEREJNOST in Slovak
8 Jan 91 p 4

[Interview with Nikolay Chervov, deputy commander of the General Staff of the USSR Armed Forces, by Yuriy Lebedev; place and date not given: "Where Did the Tanks Disappear"]

[Text] [Lebedev] How would you comment on the report in the Western press that Soviet weapons have been moved behind the Urals?

[Chervov] Western representatives should not be disquieted by this problem. In connection with this question, the Western press artificially creates an atmosphere of mistrust toward the USSR. First, Minister Eduard Shevardnadze informed Secretary of State J. Baker about the matter in September and, once again, in October 1990. This means that the United States and its allies knew about the movement before the treaty was signed. Military technology was moved behind the Urals outside the framework of the Vienna talks and in this matter we do not feel bound by any commitments arising from the treaty.

Second, the United States itself, and other NATO countries as well, are moving their weapons and technology into other regions. According to available data, as of 23 November 1990 the United States had moved 1,270 tanks from the European zone to Saudi Arabia, Turkey, Morocco, Tunisia, Pakistan, Oman, and Bahrain. And now another 1,000 tanks are being moved to Saudi Arabia. A total of 3,000 tanks will be moved, without control, from the zone of reduction.

The NATO leadership is going to move some 1,000 Leopard tanks and a large amount of other weaponry to Turkey—South East Anatolia region, outside the zone of reduction. The goal of this transfer is to keep the Middle East under the control of NATO. Even Turkey is moving its "surplus of tanks"—more than 330 tanks—from the zone of reduction to the South East part of the country under the pretext of securing its borders with Iran, Syria, and Iraq. All I have said here is done after the signing of the treaty, which is unacceptable as a matter of principle.

[Lebedev] Let us return to the subject of the transfer of the Soviet military equipment behind the Urals, specifically the tanks.

[Chervov] As of 1 July 1988, we had about 41,500 tanks in our ground forces deployed in the European part of the USSR and we reported it. As of 19 November 1990, that is, at the date of signing the treaty, 21,000 tanks were left in the European part. The difference was approximately 20,500 tanks. Where did they go? A total of 4,100 tanks were scrapped and transformed into auxiliary technology. A total of 16,400 tanks, mostly modern makes, were moved behind the Urals. Of this,

8,000 tanks were given to the troops in the East as a replacement for older tanks and 8,400 tanks were moved to military depots. A total of 6,000 tanks are to be taken out of service in the east of the country in 1991 to 1995. They will be destroyed by being scrapped, or rebuilt as machines for use in the national economy.

The transfer of a large amount of weaponry behind the Urals can be explained as follows: First, in the years 1988 to 1990 the USSR unilaterally reduced military troops by 500,000 persons, 10,000 tanks, and 8,500 artillery systems and, at present, Soviet troops are withdrawing from Eastern Europe. Second, since 1991 the routine supplies of tanks and other weaponry to ground troops were reduced drastically. By establishing certain reserves of military technology on bases in the East, it will be possible, to a certain degree, to cope with the problem of the replacement of obsolete military technology.

I am of the opinion that no violation of the treaty has taken place here. It would be unreasonable to throw away new machines and keep old ones. NATO countries do the same.

There is another thing that is important today: to reach the level of arms assigned, according to the treaty, to individual groups of countries or individual countries. No faux pas can be made here, since everything will be controlled: initial data, exact numbers after the ratification, the process of reduction (place of liquidation and transformation, place of permanent storage), and the final level of arms during the validity of the treaty. There is some inspection going on in the European part of the USSR almost every day. Is it possible to hide anything under such conditions?

All objects will be checked and there is no question of any speculation on this subject. In my opinion, by spreading various truths and untruths the representatives of NATO would like to increase the number of our objects and thus the number of inspections that we will have to accept. The USSR is firmly sticking to the treaty.

Arbatov Criticized Over Soviet Arms Reductions

PM1101171791 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA
in Russian 9 Jan 91 First Edition p 5

[Doctor of Military Sciences V. Korobushin article: "Why Is This Being Done? Soviet Academician Appeals to the West's Public"]

[Text] I have been impelled to put pen to paper by an article that came to my notice, written by Academician G. Arbatov, USSR people's deputy, and recently published in Canada's newspaper THE CITIZEN [as published]. I do not presume to pass judgment on his activities as director of the United States of America and Canada Institute because I do not consider myself competent enough in the sphere that this prestigious research institute is called upon to study. But the item in THE

CITIZEN is devoted not to the situation in the United States or Canada but to Soviet military policy and military organization problems, on which, I venture to suggest, I am amply qualified to pass judgment.

First of all let me note that Academician G. Arbatov does not say anything that is new to us in this article. His views on military and political problems are quite well known to Soviet people (he himself writes that he has devoted five OGONEK articles, a couple of IZVESTIYA articles, and several television appearances to expounding them). They, these views, are distinguished by a quite specific—anti-Army—tendency. However, everyone has the right to have his own viewpoint on questions of one sort or another. But it is a different matter when people try to pass it off as the only correct viewpoint and foist it on everybody. Especially if the point at issue is in essence to ensure or, to be precise, to undermine the country's security. That is why his statements on this subject in the Soviet press have received a very firm rebuff.

And then the academician decided to appeal to the foreign public and bring his fundamental differences with Soviet military leaders out into the open, as the saying goes. Moreover, he was not too shy to inform his new readers that the debate he sparked off had allegedly placed this leadership "at a considerable disadvantage" and provoked "fury among our homegrown militarists."

The very headline of the article published in the Canadian newspaper is quite an eloquent pointer to the nature of the polemics which have now been transferred to the world arena—"Obsolete Soviet Military Might—A Dangerous Source of Harm to the Economy." One of the author's main theses runs as follows: "...we could, without damaging our security, make a radical cut in military expenditures... (in some cases even unilaterally)." Arguments? Here you are. The article includes a table which cites USSR military expenditure figures and quantities of basic types of weapons. It follows from it that the Soviet military budget now stands at \$138 billion.

How this figure was calculated, and what's more in dollars rather than rubles, is kept from the readers. After all, according to the Law "On the USSR's State Budget for 1991" the total sum of defense expenditures was fixed at 70.9 billion rubles [R] (R6.3 billion or 8.2 percent less than in 1989). Like the whole budget, defense appropriations for 1991 have not yet been approved by the USSR Supreme Soviet, but the Ministry of Defense is requesting R5.4 billion less than in 1990 (at 1990 prices). Moreover, this is actually being done unilaterally, without looking over our shoulder at the United States, whose military budget for the same year of 1990 was \$305 billion.

Another thesis developed by the article's author is that our country allegedly has a "considerable advantage in

strategic weapons." This claim is also far from the truth and meant for inadequately informed people. The real correlation of forces in terms of strategic nuclear weapons between the USSR and the United States looks like this:

	USSR	USA
ICBM launchers (including MIRVed ICBM's)	1,398 (760)	1,000 (550)
SLBM launchers (including MIRVed SLBM's)	924 (440)	688 (656)
Heavy bombers (including those with cruise missiles)	162 (97)	589 (289)
Approximate total of charges on strategic delivery vehicles	10,000	14,000-16,000

It can be seen from the table (it has already been cited in our press) that the USSR has a small advantage in the number of strategic delivery vehicles, whereas the United States has superiority in the number of nuclear weapons on strategic delivery vehicles. On the whole, approximate parity is evident. Meanwhile, in order to justify his conclusion, the author has considerably inflated the figures in the table he cites in THE CITIZEN. He indicates, for example, that the Soviet Union apparently has 630 heavy bombers, whereas in reality it has 162. Data for the number of intercontinental missiles, submarines, surface ships, naval aviation aircraft, and the USSR Armed Forces' numerical strength are also overstated. Moreover, G. Arbatov cites facts and figures gleaned by him from "The Military Balance 1989-1990," an annual review published by the London International Institute for Strategic Studies, while materials from the Soviet press and USSR Defense Ministry reports are completely ignored.

Why did Academician G. Arbatov find all these tricks necessary? Simply in order to portray himself as the Soviet Union's main and virtually sole champion of the policy of overcoming military danger and of unilateral disarmament. As though cuts of half a million in the Soviet Armed Forces have not actually been made over the last two years, as though 500 nuclear weapons have not been withdrawn from East Europe and Soviet troops have not been pulled out of there or Mongolia, as though short- and medium-range missiles have not been almost totally destroyed, and as though there was no 18-month moratorium on nuclear explosions.

Omissions of this kind have enabled the author to charge his opponents with being convinced that the "danger of an attack on us by NATO countries and especially the United States" persists, and this, he says, does not correspond to the facts.

However, let us take a look at the real state of affairs. Yes, the Treaty on Conventional Armed Forces in Europe and the Paris Charter for a New Europe, which were signed in Paris, open up real possibilities for changing the political and military situation in this

region and create conditions for reducing military danger. However, they have not yet been put into effect. Nor are there practical changes in the NATO military alliance. So far its leaders have only been paying lip service to the policy of reviewing strategy and expanding their bloc's political functions. NATO still remains committed to the "deterrence" concept and the combination of conventional and nuclear forces to ensure "adequate defense."

This is how data for NATO weapons in Europe, compared with the USSR's weapons, look as at November 1990:

	NATO	USSR
Combat aircraft	5,929	6,445
Attack helicopters	1,736	1,330
Tanks	25,051	20,694
Armored combat vehicles	34,666	29,628
Artillery (100 mm caliber or more)	20,620	13,828

It can be seen from the table that NATO troops have superiority over the USSR in most types of weapons. This superiority will become even greater after the Treaty on Conventional Forces in Europe is implemented and will look like this: NATO will have a 1.5:1 advantage in tanks, armored combat vehicles, and artillery, and a 1.3:1 advantage in combat aircraft and attack helicopters.

It is revealing that Academician G. Arbatov also leaves out of the reckoning the fact that the United States has superior naval forces to ours: 2.6 times the number of large surface ships, absolute superiority in attack aircraft carriers (the United States has 15 and the USSR none), six times the number of carrier-based aircraft, and almost 10 times the number of marines. But when all is said and done, naval forces are acquiring special importance in the solution of Soviet security problems, given the cuts in ground forces and aviation in Europe. However, because of Washington's opposition, no talks on cutting these forces are being conducted, despite the USSR's repeated proposals.

Everything that Academician G. Arbatov wrote about in Canada's *THE CITIZEN* confirms that he has actually become one of the leaders of the anti-Army campaign in the country, which is being conducted by destructive forces. Nevertheless, having failed to convince the majority of Soviet people of the need for rash unilateral disarmament, he appeals to the West's public in order to enlist support at least there.

Evidently he alone knows the reason for doing all this.

Prospects for Nuclear-Free World Examined

PM1601100191 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
12 Jan 91 Second Edition p 7

[Article by Boris Pyadyshev, chief editor of MEZH-DUNARODNAYA ZHIZN, under the "View From Moscow" rubric: "A Security Concept Is Needed"]

[Text] Time puts all things in their proper places, assigning final assessments to events, slogans, and plans. This applies fully to the program for a nuclear-free world put forward by the Soviet leadership 15 January 1986. Today, looking back over the five intervening years, it is perceived without the former raptures and superlatives; the inertial (this was at the very beginning of perestroika, after all) cumbersomeness of the claim to speak in the name of all mankind and on behalf of all mankind can be seen in the program. Some degree of naivete is also perceptible in the desire to stage the ridding of the world of nuclear, chemical, and other mass destruction weapons in phases and in years, concluding this process by the year 2000.

Having made these remarks, which cannot be avoided today, let us also say a word of praise for the program in its jubilee year. Let us start with facts. Today's state of affairs in the sphere of arms limitations coincides surprisingly exactly with ideas which were envisaged for the first stage of the program. For example, it was assumed that the USSR and the United States would halve their strategic nuclear arms within five-eight years, would fully abolish intermediate-range missiles, and movement would begin in the direction of reducing conventional arms and armed forces.

So, there are no more intermediate- and short-range missiles. The most important Treaty on Conventional Armed Forces in Europe, which sharply restricts the arms levels of states belonging to the Warsaw Pact and NATO, was signed 19 November last year in Paris.

A treaty on a 50-percent reduction of the strategic offensive arms of the USSR and the United States is essentially ready on a political level. All that remains is to finalize agreement on some nonfundamental questions and complete the technical preparation of its text. It can be hoped that this document will also be signed during President G. Bush's visit to Moscow planned for February. Important accords on a new generation of measures aimed at strengthening trust and security in Europe have been achieved.

The disarmament measures of the first stage were carried out fairly elastically, almost on an ad hoc basis. And not because they concerned nonsubstantial issues. No, these were large-scale, drastic measures. But nevertheless these are only the initial approaches to a radical problem; so far only arms which are in superabundance are being reduced. Moreover, only the nuclear arsenals of the two superpowers are being subjected to shake-up, and the difficulties which have arisen have been difficulties within the framework of Soviet-U.S. relations.

Matters are different at the second stage of the program, when the remaining nuclear powers are due, according to estimates, to be included in nuclear disarmament. It will be far more difficult to find a common denominator. Will France take this step? Will Britain? China? It is a big

question. At any rate up till now these countries have shown no great desire to part with missiles.

Now is an opportune moment to examine the long-term prospects of the program for a nuclear-free world. Our ideal is a mutual rejection of nuclear weapons, an end to testing them, the complete destruction of stockpiles, and guarantees of their not being produced anywhere at all on earth. This was and remains the case. But today it is also clear that this ideal is moving beyond the time boundaries which were drawn up five years ago. More than that, I will venture to say: A completely nuclear-free world is hardly possible, and is even risky for the foreseeable future.

Why impossible? This is more or less clear. Because of the position of other nuclear powers, apart from the USSR. Because of the firm resolve of states like Israel, Iraq, Pakistan, and others to join the nuclear club, on whose threshold they already stand.

So far there is only one way to prevent this—strengthening the Treaty on the Nonproliferation of Nuclear Weapons. Two more states joined it last year, and the number of this treaty's signatories now stands at 141. This makes the treaty the most universal agreement in the arms limitation sphere in terms of the number of signatories. The problem of nonproliferation, evidently, may take a most unexpected turn as regards our own country. Is it not likely, as foreign circles are gradually beginning to claim, that the USSR will disintegrate into several autonomous states which will "inherit" the Soviet nuclear weapons? A new space of instability and sharp conflicts would open up, where the use of nuclear weapons, if they were readily available, could be contemplated. This prospect is extremely alarming for foreign politicians. At any rate, this was discussed with great alarm at a prestigious conference on preventing accidental nuclear war held recently in Stockholm.

To continue. Let me explain why a nuclear-free world is in a certain sense risky. In the world community of states, even when there are the most idyllic relations between them, a contingency reserve of security is necessary. A large but civilized "stick" is, if you like, needed to protect the general order against dangerous antics by adventurist regimes. A certain quantity of superweapons are needed for such eventualities. They could remain in the hands of some leading powers. UN nuclear armed forces could be created with this end in view. It is hardly possible to manage without this in the era we are entering, which is even now fraught with a mass of regional conflicts and crises.

The fact that the nuclear arsenal retained as a contingency reserve should be as small as possible is quite another matter. Destabilizing weapons systems, which could only be used to deliver a first, preemptive strike, should be excluded from it. Is it not time, bearing this in mind, to start discussing with Westerners the problem of

minimal nuclear deterrence? In the meantime, insisting inflexibly on the ideas of a completely nuclear-free world, we have been avoiding this.

The program of 15 January 1986 inaugurated a conceptual breakthrough in questions of ensuring our national security. Over the decades preceding this landmark, the philosophy of the Soviet military-political leadership amounted to considering military might to be the main means of guaranteeing security. Political means were pushed far into the background. It was also considered that this military might should be sufficient to respond not only to America but also to the whole NATO bloc, to all conceivable opponents in other parts and lands. And, it must be said, we almost achieved strategic parity with the rest of the world. But a terrible price had to be paid for this—the country could not withstand the excessive strain of the arms race.

The program for a nuclear-free world provided the first approaches to shaping a new concept of national security. A gradual switch of efforts began from primarily military ways of achieving this goal to a combination of military and political means with a steadily growing role played by the latter. Open dialogue with the West made it possible to arrive at the fundamentally important mutual statement that the USSR and the United States, the Warsaw Pact and the North Atlantic Alliance, are no longer opponents, and are henceforth prepared to build their relations on the basis of partnership and cooperation.

Of course, some time will inevitably pass before the creation of mechanisms for ensuring security by political means on regional and global levels alike is completed and they begin to operate fully. During this period military means are called upon to back up the process of ensuring security. They can play their role in conditions of combining efforts to reduce the military threat with consistent practical implementation of the principle of reasonable sufficiency for defense.

Now we are left virtually alone, without the Warsaw bloc, without allies. Our domestic affairs are meanwhile going from bad to worse. Hence the question: How are we to build estimates and plans in the military sphere in these conditions? As we did before, setting our course by the number of missiles and nuclear warheads in the Pentagon's arsenal? I think not. We ourselves must determine, precisely and with great deliberation, what should be the minimum quantity of arms which would guarantee that any aggression against the Soviet Union would result in irreparable damage for its initiator, and at the same time the aim should be to ensure that there is no potential aggressor among the major powers; we must deepen open and normal relations with them.

If we succeed in defining the quantitative and qualitative volumes of arms, proceeding from the principle of a reasonable sufficiency for defense, then is there not an argument for reducing our arsenals to these lower levels ourselves, in the course of our own military building

rather than in the process of protracted and agonizing international talks? This would be a reasonable move, dictated by national interests. Incidentally, France was the first to act in this way, beginning back in the sixties to define its own military needs without looking at the strategic plans of other states, but guided by the simple logic of having as many nuclear and other weapons as might be necessary to deter [otvadiť] anyone from attempting to encroach on its security.

Whether or not the fulfillment of the program for a nuclear-free world goes according to the stages projected five years ago is not the most important matter. What is important is that these initiatives of Moscow's play an

historic role, giving the disarmament processes a sound fillip. In the present conditions, it is evidently more reliable to proceed from one accord to another, without rigidly stipulating their interlinkage. It is important not to lose the tempo recently gained in the sphere of arms limitation. People are lamenting that, in foreign policy, the coachman is driving the horses too hard. Only someone who has nowhere else to hurry to can talk like that. Sensible people, of course, do not rush at breakneck speed in matters which concern national security, but to check the momentum that has been gained in arms limitation, in the shedding of superfluous and burdensome fat and flabby muscles, would be irrational, both with regard to our military-political interests, and our domestic situation.

Foreign Ministry Spokesman Churkin Holds Briefing**Discusses Lithuanian Events**

*LD1501163591 Moscow TASS International Service
in Russian 1511 GMT 15 Jan 91*

[By TASS correspondents Aleksandr Kanishchev, Igor Peskov, and Leonid Timofeyev]

[Text] Moscow, 15 Jan (TASS)—“We believe the foreign policy of the USSR and our relations with the surrounding world will be continued, and we see no reason to say now that the situation will, without fail, change in such a way that radical changes of some kind in our relations with the surrounding world will occur.” This was how Vitaliy Churkin, head of the Information Department of the USSR Foreign Ministry, replied during a briefing today to a question as to how difficult it will be for the new Foreign Minister Aleksandr Bessmertnykh to pursue the USSR’s foreign policy, bearing in mind the situation in Lithuania.

The diplomat recalled, in particular, Aleksandr Bessmertnykh’s remark today at the USSR Supreme Soviet in which he firmly underlined his intention to continue Mikhail Gorbachev’s foreign policy and expressed hope for new progress in this area.

Commenting on the events concerning Lithuania, Vitaliy Churkin said that one should proceed from the premise that the Soviet leadership adheres firmly to the policy of perestroika and the continuation of economic reforms and democratization. In his words, “the Soviet leadership also adheres to the search for a political settlement of the difficult situation, in many ways uncontrolled and spontaneous, which has developed at present in Lithuania.” “As far as the other side is concerned, we have to hope that the outside world will demonstrate what is possibly more necessary now than ever before—a balanced approach based on a constructive and objective analysis of the facts, and will not take the path of stirring up passions,” he added.

In this most complex situation, the diplomat said, the president of the USSR is continuing to play a stabilizing role. The Soviet leadership is extremely concerned at the course of events. At the same time he stated that the policy of perestroika, economic reforms, and democratization of public life, which is the strategic task of the Soviet leadership, “does not mean support for chaos and illegality, conditions in which no transformations are possible.” “The Soviet leadership is firmly resolved to achieve a solution (to the situation in Lithuania) by political means and to do everything to settle the situation in such a way that force is not used,” said Vitaliy Churkin. “It will do everything to avoid a further dramatic turn in events or violent confrontation and to guarantee the constitutional rights of citizens, that legality is maintained and the security and normal life of the population is ensured.”

Reflecting aloud on the dramatic processes in our country, Vitaliy Churkin added on his own personal

account that “in political life, and in particular on the sharp bends of the development of the political process, there are moments when a choice has to be made not between good and bad but between bad and worse.”

Stresses ‘Political’ Solution

*LD1501153291 Moscow TASS in English 1508 GMT
15 Jan 91*

[By TASS correspondents Aleksandr Kanishchev, Igor Peskov, and Leonid Timofeyev]

[Text] Moscow January 15 TASS—The Soviet leadership is committed to looking for “a political solution to the complex, largely elemental situation in Lithuania”, Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman Vitaliy Churkin told a briefing here today.

He said President Mikhail Gorbachev continues to play a stabilising role in efforts to settle the problem.

Churkin expressed hope that “the outside world will demonstrate what is needed today perhaps more than ever before—a balanced approach based on a constructive and objective analysis of facts—and will not embark on heightening tension”.

Gulf War ‘Can Still Be Averted’

*LD1501143191 Moscow TASS International Service
in Russian 1333 GMT 15 Jan 91*

[By TASS correspondents Aleksandr Kanishchev, Igor Peskov, and Leonid Timofeyev]

[Text] Moscow 15 Jan (TASS)—Vitaliy Churkin, head of the USSR Foreign Ministry Information Department, has described the outcome of the visit to Baghdad by UN Secretary General Perez de Cuellar as the “failure” of yet another “sincere attempt” by the international community to find a peaceful settlement to the Iraqi problem..

“UN Secretary General Perez de Cuellar’s talks with Iraqi President Saddam have not brought the results that everyone so dearly hoped for,” the USSR Foreign Ministry spokesman stated. “Yet another sincere attempt to shift matters toward a settlement of the Persian gulf crisis by peaceful political means has failed.”

“The goodwill pause that has lasted a month and a half has been packed full of various political and diplomatic peace efforts aimed at removing the threat of an explosion of immense destructive force created by the Iraqi aggression against Kuwait. With regret, it has to be stated that they have all been smashed by Baghdad’s stubborn refusal to take into consideration norms of international law, civilized contact, and the will of the international community voiced in 12 UN Security Council resolutions. By its behavior the Iraqi leadership is, in effect, pushing its own country and the region into the abyss of a military clash with catastrophic consequences.

"Nevertheless, a military explosion in the Persian Gulf zone can still be averted. The Soviet Union supports any constructive steps leading toward this end. But for such steps to be successful, the Iraqi leadership should stop all attempts at balancing on the edge of war, and make the only correct decision, that which the whole world expects of it."

Discusses UN Chief's Mission

*LD1501161391 Moscow TASS in English 1551 GMT
15 Jan 91*

[By TASS correspondents Aleksandr Kanishchev, Igor Peskov, and Leonid Timofeyev]

[Text] Moscow January 15 TASS—U.N. Secretary-General Perez de Cuellar's visit to Baghdad was another "sincere attempt" by the international community to find a peaceful solution to the Iraqi problem, Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman Vitaliy Churkin told a briefing here today.

"The talks between U.N. Secretary-General Javier Perez de Cuellar and President Saddam Husayn were fruitless, in spite of ardent hopes," the spokesman said.

"Another sincere attempt failed to settle the Gulf crisis peacefully," he added.

The 45-day "goodwill pause" was packed with various peace political and diplomatic efforts to remove the threat of an explosion, created by Iraq's aggression against Kuwait.

Regrettably, all of them met with Baghdad's stubborn refusal to take into consideration the rules of international law and the will of the international community expressed in the 12 U.N. Security Council resolutions.

The Iraqi leadership pushes its country and the entire region to the precipice of a military clash which will have disastrous consequences.

Nevertheless, a Gulf war is still possible to ward off. The Soviet Union will support any constructive steps leading to this aim.

But for these steps to be successful, the spokesman stressed, the Iraqi leadership must stop balancing on the brink of war and make the only right decision, for which the entire world waits.

Views French Initiative

*LD1501171191 Moscow TASS International Service
in Russian 1601 GMT 15 Jan 91*

[By TASS correspondents Aleksandr Kanishchev, Igor Peskov, and Leonid Timofeyev]

[Excerpt] Moscow, 15 Jan (TASS)—[passage omitted] Replying to journalists' questions, the USSR Foreign Ministry spokesman commented on the attitude of the Soviet Union to the French initiative on settling the

crisis in the Persian Gulf. He said: "Of course, we regard with interest and respect the French initiative, just as we do the other steps which it has undertaken alongside the other permanent members of the UN Security Council, aimed at seeking a political way out of the crisis in the Persian Gulf." He added that the French initiative, as well as the situation in the Persian Gulf as a whole was discussed, in particular at a meeting that took place in Moscow today between Vladimir Petrovskiy, deputy foreign minister of the USSR, and the French ambassador to the USSR.

Vitaliy Churkin also reported that on 8 January, an account of the activity of the USSR Foreign Ministry from November 1989 to December 1990 was sent to the USSR Supreme Soviet and the president, and it will be published in the next edition of the MEZHDUNAROD-NAYA ZHIZN journal. [passage omitted]

Notes Soviets in Gulf Area

*LD1501143791 Moscow TASS in English 1424 GMT
15 Jan 91*

[By TASS correspondents Aleksandr Kanishchev, Igor Peskov, and Leonid Timofeyev]

[Text] Moscow January 15 TASS—There are 235 Soviet nationals in Iraq as of today, with 52 of the total being staff members of the embassy, staffers of other missions and journalists. Seventy-two are working for the Soviet Ministry for Foreign Economic Relations, Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman Vitaliy Churkin told a briefing here today.

He noted that 111 Soviet specialists remained in Iraq of their own volition to service equipment and mothball projects. Churkin said at the previous briefing that, according to the Soviet Foreign Ministry's information, all Soviet military specialists left Iraq.

The spokesman added that additional steps are being taken to cut even more the number of Soviet citizens in Iraq. For instance, another group of Soviet citizens will leave Iraq on Wednesday, January 16.

Speaking about Soviet citizens' evacuation from other Gulf countries, Churkin said that 191 Soviet nationals arrived in the USSR from Jordan, Qatar and the United Arab Emirates over the past few days.

There are now 150 Soviet citizens in Jordan, 21 in Qatar and 124 in the United Arab Emirates.

Comments on Soviet in Canadian Embassy

*PM1501153791 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
15 Jan 91 Union Edition p 4*

[Report by G. Charodeyev: "At the USSR Foreign Ministry Press Center"]

[Excerpts] Vitaliy Churkin, chief of the USSR Foreign Ministry Information Administration, has spoken at a regular briefing for Soviet and foreign journalists. [passage omitted]

V. Churkin was asked a question about a certain Soviet citizen named D. Berman, who is currently taking refuge in the Canadian Embassy in Moscow. He confirmed that D. Berman is on the territory of the Canadian Embassy. It has come to light that at the end of last year the USSR Prosecutor's Office rescinded the earlier adopted decision to suspend criminal proceedings against D. Berman on a charge of killing a serviceman in the city of Nikolayev in 1989 and entrusted the investigator of particularly important cases with studying the materials again. Thus, the investigation has been reopened, and a trial is possible. The competent Soviet organs have decided not to detain D. Berman after he leaves the embassy building and not to apply measures of an administrative order to him on his return to Nikolayev. The question of D. Berman's emigration to take up permanent residence in Israel will be resolved depending on the results of the investigation. There are no objections to his family emigrating.

Political Efforts Continue in Afghanistan

LD1501210891 Moscow TASS in English 2052 GMT 15 Jan 91

[By TASS correspondents Aleksandr Kanishchev, Igor Peskov, and Leonid Timofeyev]

[Text] Moscow January 15 TASS—"The Soviet Union intends to continue active political efforts to help end bloodshed in Afghanistan," Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman Vitaliy Churkin told a briefing here on Tuesday.

He was speaking about the fourth anniversary of the proclamation of the national reconciliation policy by the leaders of the Republic of Afghanistan.

The spokesman said more than 3,800 national reconciliation commissions have been set up in Afghanistan since that time. About 50 local government bodies have been established to control more than 1,500 population centres. More than 16,000 former [word indistinct] have been amnestied and released from prisons.

Two-thirds of field commanders and 120,000 members of rebel groups have ceased their armed struggle against the government. About 325,000 Afghan refugees have returned home.

Churkin stressed that the basic principles of national reconciliation—political and economic pluralism, a multi-party system, a coalition approach to forming bodies of state authority and the recognition that there is no alternative to the peaceful solution of Afghan domestic problems—were set down in the new constitution and more than 30 new regulatory enactments of the Afghan Republic.

During the past four years, the Afghan president and the government have put forth a number of constructive proposals and initiatives aimed at ensuring free democratic elections in Afghanistan in order to create a broad-based representative government, Churkin said.

An active role in implementing the national reconciliation policy, he added, is being played by the National Council (parliament) and the Afghan peace front, uniting nearly 30 parties, public organisations and groups.

The Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman expressed regret that "irreconcilable part of Afghan rebels" still prefers power methods and rejects peaceable initiatives, which are increasingly supported by the population. Churkin said these activities prevented a peaceful settlement of the prolonged conflict in Afghanistan.

Churkin Says USSR Cannot Remain Neutral in Gulf

LD1501194991 Budapest MTV Television Network in Hungarian 1830 GMT 15 Jan 91

[Text] The Soviet Union thinks it is possible, even today, to find a political situation to the Gulf crisis, although at the moment war is more probable than ever, said Vitaliy Churkin in an exclusive interview with "Newsreel." The Soviet foreign affairs spokesman added: We hope the Iraqi leadership will finally assess the possible catastrophic consequences of a war and leave Kuwait. The Soviet Union is not and cannot remain neutral in the conflict. However, it will not send troops to the united forces mainly because of internal political reasons, the tragic memory of the Afghan war. Moscow still believes in diplomatic mediation, stressed the Soviet foreign affairs spokesman.

Perez de Cuellar Meets Soviet Envoy in Paris

LD1401191291 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1106 GMT 14 Jan 91

[By TASS correspondent Aleksandr Krivyykh]

[Text] Paris, 14 Jan (TASS)—UN Secretary General Javier Perez de Cuellar met Y.V. Dubinin, USSR ambassador to France, in the French capital today. Issues relating to the situation in the Persian Gulf were discussed during the conversation.

West's Motives Behind Aid to USSR Viewed

PM0901094191 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 8 Jan 91 Union Edition p 5

[Article by political observer Stanislav Kondrashov under the "Correspondents on World Events" rubric: "...Than Poor but Ill"]

[Excerpts] It is better to be rich but healthy than poor but ill... This universal humorous catch-phrase is very appropriate to a new phenomenon—food assistance from the West to the Soviet Union. It also applies to the moods prevailing around this both in the West—which is rich

and, as we see it, undoubtedly healthy, and in our own country—now inarguably poor and ill.

When you accept assistance, you have to be grateful for it. But you cannot avoid another and even stronger feeling—humiliation and shame. At the Congress of People's Deputies too, people could be heard talking about begging and about outstretched hands. [passage omitted]

Professional restraint prevents politicians and diplomats from publicly expressing their bewilderment—not to mention gloating—over the sight of a nuclear superpower stretching out its hand for dried milk for its children or basic medication for its sick and its veterans. The predominant emotions are sympathy and... gratitude. Yes, we are grateful for the humanitarian assistance, but they, in granting it, are grateful for the new Soviet policy that "freed" East Europe and renounced the "cold war." These are sincere feelings because, as a result of Soviet *perestroika*, the United States and West Europe have been freed from the threat of war and have gained huge political, ideological, and purely material advantages.

However, food aid to a power that finds itself in a disastrous state is based not just on noble emotions but also on political calculations.

IZVESTIYA spoke about what Bush is gaining in a report by our New York correspondent Aleksandr Shalnev. One billion [dollars] have been allocated to U.S. farmers who are nevertheless complaining that they expected more. Our only gain is the fact that, without the President's gesture, the money would have had to be found elsewhere: Under the current Soviet-U.S. agreement we are simply obliged to buy a certain minimum quantity of grain in the United States, for which we do not now have enough currency reserves. It would be a different matter if this had been an uncommitted billion to be disposed of at will. Then we could have—theoretically (alas, not more than only theoretically!)—spent it on assistance to our own peasants and, in exchange, we could have obtained from them, for dollars, the same provisions that we will be once more importing from across the ocean for almost the 30th year running. Bush has helped his farmers, thus consolidating a political base which our leaders lack in our own villages and settlements.

Looking at the European Council's meeting, this is how Italian Prime Minister Andreotti defined the political motives behind closed doors: "Aid will cost us less than the price of the chaos we will have to face later if we do not help now." He had in mind the exacerbation of the multifaceted crisis and the processes of the USSR's disintegration as an integral state. Apart from anything else, this banking on stability in our country can be attributed to a desire to save prosperous West Europe from a sudden threat to its own stability—both political and economic.

It is expected that one of the consequences of the worsening situation in the USSR will be a mass emigration of poor and frightened people. Apocalyptic scenarios talk about millions of people—enough to shake

and even destroy the mainstays of European prosperity. The predictions are clearly too high and are a result of our new passion for sensationalism which is being readily picked up in Czechoslovakia, Poland, and Hungary which are apparently already preparing for an invasion by Soviet refugees.

The document of the Rome meeting says: "The European Council fully supports the reforms undertaken by the USSR central authorities." "Central" is not used by accident. The whole program of aid at EC level is being channeled to the center and not to the republics, and then it is up to us to make agreements and distribute it, provided we know how to, of course. In the present conditions this presentation of the question involves a certain risk: Is the EC perhaps taking a specific side in the disputes going on in the Soviet Union? Italian Foreign Minister Gianni de Michelis seemed to me rather embarrassed when I asked him this question during a conversation. He answered the only way he could: We do not intend to interfere in your internal affairs but, for understandable reasons, we maintain diplomatic and other relations with the central leadership which represents a state that is well known to everyone. In the minister's view, this meets the interests of both the Soviet Union and the EC. European leaders perceive "a clear signal of political support for Gorbachev" in the decision on aid itself and in its destination.

Normal states, just like normal people, prefer—in normal circumstances—to have dealings with known quantities, especially favorably inclined ones. However, the inevitable reservation is that the situation in the Soviet Union cannot be described as normal. The political field is heavily mined and the EC members are not quite sure that they can cross it safely. They do not want to interfere in our internal affairs, but the channeling of their aid only through the central leadership is threatening to create new sources of friction between the center and the republics. Gorbachev's opponents will not miss the opportunity of putting a negative interpretation on elements which the EC perceives as positive. There he is again, they will claim, hiding behind his popularity in the West in order to balance out his unpopularity at home. As soon as I got home to Moscow from Rome, I heard the following reasoning: All this is nothing but new populism, we do not need any aid, but Gorbachev "provoked" it in order to raise his stock among citizens rushing about in search of food.

Thus our general atmosphere of cynicism and lack of faith is spreading in all directions. What then remains to be done by those who would like to help us in our misfortune? To do nothing, to wait until we make peace with one another? I have had to resort to the following pun: We have to help them to help us. And this can even be extended: We have to help ourselves to help them to help us. The only thing left to do would be to explain what is meant by "us" in the face of universal disorder.

The disorder is fraught with complexities and dangers in relations with the West which we (who is meant by

"we"? are not bothering to think about. The Americans, who are famous for their tough pragmatism, are already thinking. Here is an example. Eminent Sovietologist Michael Mandelbaum writes in THE LOS ANGELES TIMES: Both the center and the republics have "legitimate and convincing rights to American support." But to whom should it be given? Or to put it another way: "Who will control the country's armed forces? Who is in charge of its resources? Who will have the power to levy taxes and regulate the economy?"

The conclusion by the author, who is by no means alone, is: "The Bush administration has tried to refrain from taking sides in the Soviet struggle for power. This is a sensible policy for the United States but it will scarcely continue for much longer."

It is true that this "restraint" may soon end and take—dare I say it—various forms of U.S. interference in our internal affairs. Washington may gradually switch to tapping the promising vein of our domestic antagonisms. The cause (or rather the pretext) will be the need for Americans to make a choice in favor of greater democracy, including the market economy and the self-determination of nations. These aims are moral on the surface, political at a somewhat greater depth, and strategic when you get deep down. In place of the Soviet Union they would like to have a country or a group of countries with a system that is politically and economically similar to America's—only weaker, much weaker than America. Those who know American power also know that it does not tolerate equal strength.

We are still far from a market economy, but there is more than enough haggling! How can I get this cheaper, how can I knock down the price? Washington has already started playing on the contradictions, and the first samples have already been taken. The same LOS ANGELES TIMES reported a few days ago: "Baker said that the United States has warned Soviet representatives that if police repression is used to suppress 'rudimentary markets' in the collapsing plan economy, this will reverse the trend toward a thaw in U.S.-Soviet relations..." Baker went on to amplify that "the United States objects to the use of police force to stop farmers (that is, our peasants—S.K.) from taking their own produce to market in the expectation of obtaining a higher price, since such behavior on the part of farmers is dictated by market factors even though it technically violates Soviet laws."

The situation, to be blunt, is hypothetical, but to make up for it are the words: "Objects" and "warned"...

The situation is hypothetical, but not humorous. It is quite serious. It has a development potential. Unless we consolidate ourselves internally, unless we establish a new equilibrium of centrifugal and centripetal forces (on the basis of acknowledging the real sovereignty of republics on the one hand, and the foreign policy and defense powers of the Union on the other hand), the Americans will make their final choice in favor of the USSR's

disintegration and will increasingly encourage centrifugal forces although, at the same time, they will be tormented by the question of what will happen to the Soviet nuclear missiles. This is the main headache. The future of the remaining strength is causing confusion.

It is better to be rich but healthy, than poor but ill... Poor. Ill. And preferably impotent?!

'World This Week' Program Views Gulf Conflict

LD1301215591 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian
1230 GMT 13 Jan 91

[From "The World This Week" program with Aleksandr Bovin, IZVESTIYA political observer, and Nikolay Shishlin, political observer; presented by Viktor Levin]

[Text] [Levin] One might say with complete confidence that there are two things currently at the focus of world attention—the crisis in the Persian Gulf zone and the events in Lithuania. We concentrate on international affairs, and for that reason we will be speaking about the situation in and around the Persian Gulf zone.

This week has seen very many diplomatic steps to try to achieve a political settlement to this crisis. You know that U.S. Secretary of State James Baker had a meeting with Iraqi foreign Minister Tariq Aziz in Geneva; now very vigorous diplomatic efforts are being made by other countries; Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev's telephone call to U.S. President George Bush has generated a great response. As Bush himself said, Mikhail Sergeyevich asked him to receive our ambassador to Washington, who would explain some fresh ideas, according to Bush. The U.S. President received the ambassador, and presumably our ideas were explained.

Alongside this, the mission undertaken by UN Secretary General Perez de Cuellar can be seen as important. Vigorous talking is going on, yet at the same time the deadline—0000 on 15 January—when the goodwill pause runs out is drawing disastrously near. Speaking to U.S. troops in Saudi Arabia, James Baker said that after that moment they would not have long to wait for the order to take fresh action—that is for military action. All the same, there remains a chance that peace may be maintained—or more precisely, that a political settlement may be found to the crisis, that Iraq could be made to leave Kuwait by political means. Well, do my colleagues hold different opinions.

[Bovin] It is very difficult indeed to say. Here we are saying that all these different diplomatic steps are being taken, but when we speak like this we create the impression of a multitude of various options that are being proposed, that we just have to select which is best or worst. I am trying to separate these logically. Iraq must withdraw from Kuwait, period. That is the basis of any accord there could be. What options could there be here? What could talks be held on? To allow him to maintain face?

That is a moral issue, as far as we can be concerned about it. Let us assume there is no war and no casualties—then we can start worrying about Saddam Husayn saving face. How can it be arranged so that he withdraws completely, completely abandons the fruits of... [changes thought] and leaves no trace. I just cannot understand this. There is but one way out. He cannot fulfill these conditions, he cannot withdraw from there—he must lose face. Inevitable [word indistinct]. To avoid this, there is just one thing he can do: he must withdraw from Kuwait.

[Shishlin] There is a paradox here: all that Sasha Bovin has said is absolutely clear and logical, and absolutely right. Because if the world community does not come through this trial, but instead reconciles itself to the aggression, then all our talk of an end to the cold war, the triumph of international law, the triumph of international justice, is worthless. In this particular case, I believe there is an agonizing task facing not just Washington, and not just the European capitals or Arab capitals. This agonizing task faces Moscow, too.

Of course nobody wants war: not the Arab states, not Israel, certainly not the United States, and of course we do not want war. In this instance, the various efforts and options which are being proposed are all justifiable. Frankly, however, there is a logical dead end. Because the rules of the game are perfectly clear and perfectly well set out: you cannot say, oh, let Saddam Husayn keep, let's say, Rumaylah—the oil bearing deposits...

[Bovin, interrupting] ...or that island there.

[Shishlin] Yes, or give him a couple of islands. What for? What for, comrades? In this instance, the way I see it, the world will not be any calmer, safer, or better if the aggressor can enjoy the fruits of his plunder. I have heard it said and I have read—as you know, we have a vast number of viewpoints—I have heard two of our respected commentators saying that there will not be any war in the Persian Gulf because the Americans do not want it. True enough, the Americans do not want war. It is true that the Arabs do not want it. I do not want to go on repeating it, but it is true that nobody wants war. What, then? If you finish with it all today, at the present stage of the Gulf crisis, then you can expect a continuation of the aggression.

[Bovin] Yes, but then the Americans have placed themselves in the same situation. They have no way out, either! Just imagine, they send half a million troops, spend tens of billions of dollars on deploying these troops. What have you got—a bluff? How can you get out of that just like that? Forgive me, but that would be suicide for Bush! So they do not have all that much room for maneuver. By his very actions, he is gradually reducing the room he has to maneuver. Now he has reduced it almost to zero. Again the same thing: either a refusal or consent. Either yes or no, just like Saddam Husayn.

[Shishlin] There is another point that is interesting here. After this aggression—after this aggression in August by Iraq against Kuwait—after all these dramatic, bitter, and

tragic events, we are discovering that we need to reevaluate the whole Near East situation. We need to take a fresh look at our relations with each and every Arab country. Of course with Israel, given that it is in that area.

Why do I make this point? Because, as you know, one of Saddam Husayn's tricks has been to try to link the unlinkable. He is trying to link the issue of his aggression against Kuwait with the issue of a Near East settlement and even with the future of Palestine. As you know, 'Arafat, the leader of the PLO, has declared that he will stick with Baghdad through thick and thin. Whether he intends to liberate Jerusalem, or something else... [changes thought] In short, to resolve the Palestinian problem together with Iraq...

[Bovin, interrupting] That is a quite incomprehensible position, in my opinion. It is logically difficult for us to (?imagine what the outcome will be).

[Shishlin] I believe, politically speaking, that is a very serious miscalculation. It threatens—of course not the Palestinian cause—but the future of the leadership of the PLO. The future of 'Arafat himself. I refuse to believe even for a second that those donors who have been so generous with their aid to 'Arafat—Saudi Arabia, Kuwait itself, the UAE, Qatar, and so on...

[Bovin, interrupting] Sponsors.

[Shishlin] Yes, sponsors, though I prefer the expression donors! That they would forgive 'Arafat for his current political position, when he is in cahoots with the policy of international robbery and piracy.

[Levin] Incidentally, rumors are circulating that at the Geneva talks Tariq 'Aziz told Baker that the situation was as follows: Kuwait is the 19th province of Iraq, but for the sake of the Palestinian cause we are prepared to sacrifice one of our provinces if Palestine is given the West Bank. By and large, evidently the talk was of this. This is an attempt to link the unlinkable, and to place his aggression, his cynical and blatant aggression, on the same level as the situation in the Near East in general.

[Bovin] It is very interesting to look at the history behind the development of this reasoning. For when the actual act of aggression occurred, then, pardon me, but there was no talk of the Palestinians! It was all very simple and elementary: Kuwait is our land, our historic land...

[Shishlin, interrupting] No, Sasha, there is another point. To begin with, in the first few days a new revolutionary government was formed.

[Bovin] Yes, yes, yes, yes, yes, yes. There was an uprising there, and the new revolutionary government asked Iraq for—well, yes we know the scenario! For aid, and they rendered fraternal aid and internationalist aid! On the way they liberated their 19th province, joined it to the Iraqi motherland, and there you have it! Then, when the anti-Iraqi coalition came into being this Palestinian argument appeared. Well, my dear fellows! That is a sacred cause!

Iraq is the Palestinians' arsenal! Its military potential: We have tanks, we have everything! It is not ours! It is a potential for the Palestinians—for the liberation of Palestine! That is what we are fighting for! As 'Aziz said in Geneva, the Palestinian cause plays a 50 percent role here. That is the entire reasoning, that is the main argument. The main thing here is the Palestinian problem. Let us convene a conference. Let us discuss Kuwait and Palestine as a package.

That is his... [changes thought] and incidentally, I should say that when I speak to my colleagues here, I see that this argument is not that simple. They do say to me: Why are you so upset over this Kuwait? What has happened? True enough, why have the Jews managed to hang on to the West Bank for 20 years now, while millions of resolutions have been passed? I am sorry, but the Americans aren't going to expel half a million people, and we have kept quiet on all this—well, not kept quiet, but not been very enthusiastic—and everything is quiet, they have been left to occupy it for how many years now? There, you see, poor old Iraq—all of the sudden what a commotion! What is up? Why such terrible inequality? That is the question that is asked.

[Levin] I would add that there were demonstrations by peace supporters in France and Germany yesterday. French Communists also played an active part in the Paris demonstration. What they were saying was: No bloodshed for oil! The time was that we would have been right behind those movements! What we have here, however, is a patent supplantation of concept. We are not talking about blood for oil! Of course, the question of oil is present in all this. It is a player. There is some interest in the oil. The main, the fundamental, issue at stake, however, is whether to encourage aggression or nip it in the bud.

[Bovin] Well yes, of course we are getting round to this idea. People have stopped ascribing lofty, principled motives to politics to such a degree that oil is what comes to mind, above all: the Americans have gone in because they need oil. That is why they went there. We, fools that we are, do not see this and so support and help them. There are many such people here in our country. They recall Malta [as heard] and Grenada and what have you. You can reason things out here, too: Sure enough, the Americans have done a lot of nasty things, and that is a fact, but the time has now come for us to try to restore order jointly.

There are sometimes such turnabouts in history, but for some reason these people do not want to take this into account. There is something else, however, and again I am perhaps rambling...[changes thought] of course the whole situation could be analyzed, and you could claim that the war that is about to start will be a just war. But comrades, all the same, people could die! People will die, towns will be destroyed, the oil fields will burn. God only knows what else it will mean! The terrorists will again start operating. All that will come about, even though it is, indeed, a just war.

[Shishlin] I would add to this that the state of the world economy, already rather shaky, not just in the light of own economic problems...

[Bovin, interrupting] No, of course.

[Shishlin, continuing] ...but in the light of certain negative...

[Bovin, interrupting] Yes, but at the present time there is no shortage of crude oil on the world market.

[Shishlin] Phenomena...

[Bovin, interrupting] If, however, you take petroleum products, fuel, then that is in great demand even now.

[Shishlin] So, without trying in any way to sum up, I would like to say that you really should not take a simple view of the picture. In this respect all you have heard really does reflect reality. There are fairly significant circles in the Arab world which seem to find Saddam Husayn's claims that he is defending the Palestinian cause attractive. I believe any steps are justified—right up to the brink, right up to the fateful brink—to try to take advantage of any political means to escape from this labyrinth and somehow to leap out of it.

[Bovin] If I were in Gorbachev's shoes, for example—this thought just occurred to me—I would say: Well fine, let us telephone Bush and Saddam tomorrow. Meet in Istanbul the next day—the three of us. Plus the UN secretary general. One more attempt. We would talk. People have surrendered. That is it—15 January is approaching: Geneva has ended without result. All we can do is wait for war. No! We do not just have to wait for war! We need to keep doing something right up to the very last minute. Anything could happen—something unforeseen.

[Shishlin] I believe Gorbachev will remain Gorbachev, and Bovin will remain Bovin, and that is probably the best thing. But I do not hold out any hopes for anything unforeseen, although I would welcome any fantasies! Apparently we have a faint hope that Saddam will have a sound sleep, that he will have another dream in which Mohammad appears to him and says: Listen, it is time you pulled out of Kuwait! In any case, you will get it back somehow!

[Levin] For the time being he is claiming that if they start the war, U.S. soldiers will flounder in their own blood.

[Bovin] Yes, that is interesting. Let us look at the scenario—also very important. Let us just suppose Saddam carries out his promise and the first thing he does is bomb Israel. His aircraft would not fly to (?Arabia) or anywhere like that, but would fly straight there and flatten Israel. He could do that. What then? That is quite realistic.

[Levin] Baghdad says it will not be the first to strike.

[Bovin] Well, okay, the second strike. Let us say the Americans start it, but then he strikes the second blow at Israel.

[Levin] That is Saddam Husayn's great dream, to turn the conflict into an Arab—a Muslim—war against the United States and Israel. He has clearly made the calculation that the Arab countries will start to waver further.

[Bovin] What sort of wavering?! The war begins! There are the Egyptian soldiers—almost 20,000; Syria helping at the front; Saudi Arabia. They are supposed to fight Iraq. If Iraq attacks Israel, will they fight Iran then?

[Shishlin] The most interesting thing is that there were very interesting statements made last week regarding this matter. First of all, there was a statement made by Egyptian President Mubarak, who stated that in the case of Baghdad's attack on Israel the latter will have an absolute right to protect its sovereignty, its independence, and its security. That was the first statement. A similar statement was made by Syrian President Assad, who stated that Israel has a right to defend itself and that Israel has a right to protect its independence. A statement of a similar sort was made by Riyadh, Saudi Arabia, which was the most generous financier of the Palestine cause. In this particular case, this question itself and a reply to this question, of course—although the question is put very clearcut—are not equivocal.

Nowadays the Arab world should be seen by us not as some integral whole, but we should see that Saudi Arabia is Saudi Arabia, Kuwait is Kuwait, Algeria is Algeria, Morocco is Morocco, Libya is Libya, and so on and so forth. Hence, there is a multicolored world before our eyes, which is, undoubtedly, struck by this conflict and, of course, not all of it applauds and shouts hurrah to Saddam Husayn's pro-Arab statements. There are people who trust Saddam Husayn, and who give new born baby boys the name of Saddam. But serious politicians have open eyes.

I think that—I want to put an end to this topic—nowadays we, ourselves, have a vital interest in having no war in the Gulf, which if one were to let it break out would seriously damage the world economy. Because even though we are relatively isolated from international economic ties, this isolation is rather relative. The war in the Gulf will add only nasty and bad things to our present critical developments and our present economic woes.

[Levin] Well, I am afraid that, in this respect, the events in Lithuania will also add only nasty things. Although they are of an internal character, they have a certain international aspect. Back to the situation in the Persian Gulf zone, I would have thought that the issue of complete settlement of the situation in the Near East also exists here. When they are saying that demands put forward to Iraq are just, why are they not raising the issue, as rigidly as they do in the previous case, or the Israeli occupation of the Western bank which have been going on for 20 years, for more than 20 years. It should be said that the Security Council resolution—if my memory does not fail me—number 242 adopted in

1967 envisaged that Israeli troops were withdrawn from the occupied territories and the Israeli right to secure existence was recognized.

It was this very point, however, which for many years was a subject of, shall I say, rather undiplomatic games whereby a good deal of Arab states and, first of all, the PLO did not wish to recognize the Israeli right to exist. Lately, some advances have taken place, as they say. Now the situation is deteriorating again. After all, the PLO leadership's position casts grave doubt on the readiness of this leadership to adopt Resolution 242 in full. This issue is still acute. I think that the settlement of Gulf crisis, a fair settlement connected with demand that Iraqi troops be withdrawn from Kuwait will, most likely, influence immensely the entire course of events in the region as a whole and will open up a real way toward the solution of the Near East problem, in particular, relations between Israel and the Arab states.

[Shishlin] This is, undoubtedly, a true thought. But the order of priority should be the following: First, of all, the consequences of the Persian Gulf crisis should be eliminated, and then there will be room for the fantasy concerning the search for the universal political settlement in the Near East. In this particular case, I think, this process will start not with an international conference—an international conference could only be a consummation of the whole business—but with very intensive bilateral consultations with the participation of not just those who take direct part in the Near East conflict but also with the participation of all sides involved, including permanent members of the UN Security Council. This is true. This aim is extremely attractive. It is, after all, over the horizon of the present crisis in the Persian Gulf.

[Levin] This past week has seen another report, which has so far not developed much further, but which I believe gives us much food for thought. I refer to the statement made by Fitzwater, an aide to the U.S. President, on the possibility of U.S. President George Bush's visit to the Soviet Union being postponed. The visit is scheduled for 11-13 February.

This statement was hedged about with much prevarication: it is possible; if, should. Frankly, I get the impression that this was not the first swallow, but rather the first stone to be cast at the summit meeting taking place at that time. To be honest, I get the impression that it is unlikely that the meeting will go ahead at the start of February.

[Levin] If there is merely a postponement, so that it is not the beginning of February, but the end of February or March, then that is of no particular import. But one cannot rule out the possibility of a certain cooling in Soviet-U.S. relations. That is the impression I get. Of course, from that point of view, it is a trifle, an incidental—though a very unpleasant incidental.

There is the story of our ship the Dmitriy Furmanov, which was transporting military cargo to Jordan. True, a colleague of mine from our editorial office got in touch

with the Ministry of Foreign Economic Relations where a senior official told him that the vessel was carrying components of little significance, though military equipment nevertheless. As you know, the Americans and the Spaniards detained this vessel. The Ministry of Foreign Economic Relations issued a statement in this connection. But I got the impression that the Foreign Ministry knew nothing of the fact that the vessel was headed that way, and that is bad in itself, because if foreign policy activity is starting to be conducted on various levels, to put it mildly, then that is very alarming indeed.

Then, if you set alongside this some of the statements emanating from some very notable figures on our political scene to the effect that Saddam Husayn has always been our friend, and that now the Foreign Ministry has changed course abruptly, then some very alarming points may be discerned. Attention must also be paid to this, to the way in which there are attempts going on to return to the old notions. This makes a very great impression on some people. Even some people's deputies of the Soviet Union cannot conceal their desire to see the United States as public enemy number one. But does the country, do we, need this, and does it accord with reality?

Those are questions that they do not consider. I would again like to go along with the opinion of my colleagues today that Iraq's aggression against Kuwait is not simply an act of piracy. It is a scenario which tests all the principles of international law and all the principles of international relations which have been devised in the course of the past five years, and to which we have made such a great contribution. Just look—even now the attacks are beginning on the agreement signed in Paris on limiting weapons in Europe. When I start setting the various facts and what I see as irresponsible statements on the Dmitriy Furmanov, alongside these attacks on the treaty...

[Bovin, interrupting] Presumably you mean statements by Soviet figures?

[Levin] Yes, I mean statements by Soviet figures. When I do this, well, I believe we must see this threat to our foreign policy and must take account of it.

[Shishlin] I believe it is early yet to comment on Fitwater's statement, and to comment on the fate of the next summit. We are truly faced with very serious trials, and very dramatic events. Of course these dramatic events alter the whole picture to a significant extent. Then you have to take

a fresh look at the agenda of the summit—what is to be spoken about, when it is to be held, and so on. Today this date remains set and the United States has made no statements that oblige Washington to change the date of the meeting. So, let us not consign ourselves in advance to a hopeless pessimism. To an enormous extent it is dependent on us to ensure that those powerful and positive trends that exist today in Soviet-U.S. relations are not lost, but, quite the contrary, are developed, gain in strength, and become more tangible.

Finally, I would suggest that, for all the important and grave things that await us in the coming week and in the next few days of January 1991, we must not get deflected from our internal affairs and our domestic events, and we must realize that our internal decisions are totally bound and harnessed to the world's view of the Soviet Union—to the Soviet Union's international prestige, if you like—and to a confirmation of the Soviet Union's adherence to the policy of renewal which we opted for back in April 1985. Therefore, I would like these weeks and months ahead to provide confirmation both in words and deeds, in our deeds and actions, of this policy, which is the only one that can help our country overcome the long drawn-out political, economic, and moral crisis. Of course there is the possibility of overcoming this crisis!

[Levin] On that note I will happily draw our conversation to a close.

Chernobyl Aid Agreement Signed With UNESCO

LD0901165391 Moscow TASS in English 1204 GMT
9 Jan 91

[Text] Paris January 9 TASS—An agreement on the UNESCO-Chernobyl programme was signed today at UNESCO headquarters in Paris to promote international cooperation in overcoming the consequences of the Chernobyl catastrophe.

The international programme aims to find practical ways to deal with problems that arose after the catastrophe in various fields, including education, culture and communications.

The international agreement was signed by UNESCO Director-General Federico Mayor, Soviet Ambassador to UNESCO Vladimir Lomeiko and Belorussian and Ukrainian ambassadors Viktor Kolbasin and Vladimir Skofenko.

United States & Canada

U.S. Welcomes New Foreign Minister's Appointment

LD1501212891 Moscow TASS in English 2120 GMT
15 Jan 91

[By TASS correspondent Igor Barsukov]

[Text] Washington January 16 TASS—The United States welcomes the appointment of Soviet Ambassador to the U.S. Aleksandr Bessmertnykh to the post of Soviet foreign minister, U.S. State Department spokeswoman Margaret Tutwiler said here Tuesday.

Speaking at a briefing, she noted that the new minister is a skillful diplomat with great experience whose activities correspond to the highest standards of professionalism.

She added that Bessmertnykh played an important role in improving American-Soviet relations when Eduard Shevardnadze was Soviet foreign minister. Tutwiler expressed hope that the improvement in American-Soviet relations would continue and Soviet new thinking in foreign policy would not change.

U.S. Coverage of Situation in Baltics Viewed

LD1401184691 Moscow Central Television First
Program Network in Russian 1800 GMT 14 Jan 91

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] [Announcer] Not only our attention but also that of the world is now rivetted on the events in Lithuania. And this is no exaggeration. At this minute the teleprinters are tapping away non-stop. American TV is endlessly churning out video news about the clashes in Vilnius, although the situation in the republic has now returned to normal, which is primarily attributed to the arrival of the representatives of the USSR Council of the Federation. And questions are being asked, and in telegrams to editorial offices, with pain and bewilderment: Why did the tragedy happen? How could blood come to be shed? This and other questions connected with the situation in Lithuania have also fallen like a squall upon the Union legislature which today, putting off other affairs, began examining the Lithuanian question which was the number one item on the agenda.

Belonogov Meets With U.S. Ambassador 15 Jan

LD1501163291 Moscow TASS International Service
in Russian 1602 GMT 15 Jan 91

[Text] Moscow, 15 Jan (TASS)—Aleksandr Belonogov, deputy foreign minister of the USSR, today received Jack Matlock, U.S. ambassador to the USSR.

During the conversation there was an exchange of views with regard to the situation in the Persian Gulf zone and the consultations under way in this connection at the UN Security Council

Northeast Asia

Japanese Premier Addresses Islands Issues

OW1601004991 Tokyo KYODO in English 0022 GMT
16 Jan 91

[Text] Moscow, Jan. 16 KYODO—Japanese Prime Minister Toshiki Kaifu said in an interview with a Soviet newspaper published Wednesday that the Soviet Union must return the four disputed islands off northern Japan before there can be an improvement in bilateral ties.

In response to a suggestion made by Fyodor Burlatskiy, editor in chief of the LITERATURNAYA GAZETA weekly newspaper, that the improvement of relations should be like a horse and the territorial issue like a carriage that follows, Kaifu reportedly commented, "The essence is the other way around."

The four islands off Hokkaido, northern Japan, were seized from Japan by the Soviets at the end of World War II.

Increased Imports From South Korea Expected

PM1501114991 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
14 Jan 91 Union Edition p 5

[Report by TASS correspondent Vladimir Solntsev: "Exports to USSR To Increase"]

[Text] Tokyo, 13 Jan—The volume of South Korean exports to the USSR in the current year is going to rise by almost two-thirds—to \$804 million. The YONHAP agency reports that the South Korean state corporation for trade promotion (Kotra) has issued just such a forecast.

According to tentative estimates contained in the corporation's report published Saturday [12 January], South Korean exports to the Soviet Union and to six East European countries will increase from \$918.7 million in 1990 to about \$1.3 billion in the current year. This, however, will mean a significant slowdown—from 103.7 percent to 40.2 percent—in the growth rate of deliveries of South Korean products to these countries. Kotra links this situation primarily with the reduced spending power of the East European countries and the shortage of foreign currency reserves which has forced Yugoslavia, Poland, and Hungary to tighten import controls.

It is expected that future prospects for the development of economic cooperation between South Korea and the USSR will be discussed during the visit to Seoul in the near future of an authoritative Soviet Government delegation. YONHAP notes that Kotra also intends to vigorously invite Soviet "purchasing missions" to South Korea and to participate this year in as many trade exhibitions as possible in the USSR and the countries of East Europe.

Southeast Asia & Pacific

Debate on 1983 ROK Airplane Downing Reopened

PM1101134791 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
11 Jan 91 Second Edition p 5

[Report by PRAVDA correspondent S. Tikhomirov:
"On the Boeing 747"]

[Text] Pyongyang, 10 Jan—The fate of the Boeing 747 belonging to a South Korean airline and downed by a Soviet missile in 1983 has again become a subject of heated discussion in the South Korean press. This was prompted by a U.S. NEWS AND WORLD REPORT article that claimed that the Soviet side had discovered passenger remains and secretly buried them.

The leading South Korean newspapers are currently not only reprinting the article from the U.S. magazine but also carrying their own commentaries on it. The writers' opinions mainly boil down to the following: "The Soviet Union must tell the whole truth about the downed aircraft," "the Soviets must demonstrate the utmost sincerity... and not only admit their mistake or apologize, but express their regret about the incident." The articles are also calling for the remains of their dead countrymen to be returned and for compensation to be paid to the victims' relatives.

More than seven years have passed since the tragedy. Now it is again a topic of conversation among the citizens of a country with which the Soviet Union has just established diplomatic relations. Whether this is accidental or coincidental I do not know, but I definitely would not want to think that this newspaper and magazine campaign had been inspired by someone. Quite frankly, I would not rule that idea out. I think that people who are familiar with the secrets of the "world of newspapers" will agree with me.

Incidentally, in this case there are, regrettably, forces which, having their own interests on the Korean peninsula and taking a different view of the processes under way in the region, object to such a rapid normalization of relations between Seoul and Moscow. Some without particularly publicizing the fact, others quite openly.

Judging from the intensity with which the newspapers have started attacking the No Tae-u government, demanding that it do all the "i's" as regards the airliner tragedy, we can assume that the conflict will not be settled soon. Well, the time has clearly come for us to tell the whole truth. Ultimately, as is well known, there is no smoke without fire. The truth is needed not only to maintain the Soviet Union's high international prestige, but also to ensure that such "misunderstandings" never happen again.

Near East & South Asia

Interviews With Officials on Gulf Crisis Reported**Primakov Views Settlement Hopes**

PM1501124191 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA
PRAVDA in Russian 15 Jan 91 p 3

[Interview with academician Ye.M. Primakov by correspondent A. Vasilyev; place and date not given: "There Is Still a Chance"]

[Text] [Vasilyev] Yevgeniy Maksimovich, as far as I know, you have long been acquainted with Saddam Husayn.

[Primakov] We became acquainted while I was still PRAVDA's correspondent in the Near East. That was in the mid-sixties. I was based in Cairo, but I covered the whole region and would travel quite frequently to Kurdistan—the northern province of Iraq, where the Kurds were waging a struggle against the central government at that time. The Soviet Union was interested in seeing the war end as quickly as possible. And since I had good relations with Barzani [name as transliterated], the Kurds' leader, I was also involved in the process of normalizing relations between him and Baghdad.

In 1968 Saddam Husayn became one of the leaders of the Ba'th Party, and even then he wielded very great influence.

Saddam Husayn was entrusted with holding negotiations on a peace agreement with the Kurds. It was then that I became acquainted with him and with Tariq 'Aziz, the present Iraqi foreign minister, who at that time was chief editor of the newspaper AL-THAWRAH. This was at the end of 1969. In that situation the Soviet Union was trying to play a positive role, and there really was peace in Kurdistan from 1971 through 1975. I continued meeting with Saddam Husayn later as well—both in Iraq and in Moscow, whenever he came here, when I was already working at the Academy of Sciences.

[Vasilyev] What is the Iraqi leader like in personal contacts?

[Primakov] He is a good interlocutor. He listens to arguments attentively. But this is not because of a softness of character. He is, of course, a tough, willful man.

[Vasilyev] He is frequently compared with Stalin....

[Primakov] You know, I am not in favor of sensational cliches. Of course, Saddam Husayn stifles dissidence in the country—this is for certain. He does not always make use of his hypertrophied will for the good of his citizens, to put it mildly. But, on the other hand, he is quite open to a discussion of many questions and, incidentally, if he gives his word, then, as a rule, he keeps it.

[Vasilyev] How could you describe the relationship between Saddam Husayn and the Iraqi people? Many people believe that the people might overthrow him if he ingloriously gets out of Kuwait or loses the war.

[Primakov] It was you who started speaking of Stalin.... I remember how he was deified, despite the repression—however monstrous that appears today. But all that happened.

The overwhelming majority of the Iraqi people support Saddam now. He has become a symbol of independence. He has thrown the gauntlet down to the United States. He has said that he will strike at Israel. Can you imagine what emotions this arouses among broad sections of the population? As far as I understand the situation in Iraq, the possibility of Saddam Husayn's being overthrown by his own people can be ruled out today. But it is hard to say now what their attitude toward him will be later.

[Vasilyev] Proceeding from Saddam's personal qualities, how would you explain the reasons for the aggression against Kuwait?

[Primakov] There are many reasons. I believe that the victory in the war against Iran played its part.

[Vasilyev] But can the results of the Iran-Iraq war be regarded as a victory for Iraq?

[Primakov] Of course! In fact, Saddam won a military victory. It might have boosted his confidence that he is called upon to be the leader of the Arab world. Also connected with this is the fact that he wants to play the leading role in resolving the Palestinian problem, too. It is another matter that Saddam Husayn decided to link the withdrawal of his troops from Kuwait directly with its settlement. The world community does not go along with this, rightly believing that this would be encouraging aggression. But, at the same time, I do not understand why we should not endeavor to use the present situation to resolve the Palestinian question.

As for predicting the future, all I can say is this: If Saddam Husayn is facing the dilemma of whether to be crushed, as he puts it, or to fight, he will fight.

When I flew to Baghdad to see him the last time, my mission was extremely difficult. I was the USSR president's personal envoy and my remit did not include making my own proposals. I was to form my own view of the problem as a result of the conversation with Saddam Husayn and then convey that to USSR President M.S. Gorbachev, who considered the continuation of my mission useful. Thus I went to the United States, several West European states, and some Arab countries. I had information to relay to their leaders....

Saddam Husayn was absolutely frank with me—like before. From my conversation with him I realized that an Iraqi troop withdrawal from Kuwait has not been ruled out. He told me bluntly: "I am a realist. I know that I shall have to leave."

It seemed possible to me that he could withdraw his troops and save face without being rewarded for his aggression and without various problems being linked in a single package. It is necessary to take into account this man's psychological characteristics. He wants to save face and that includes his own self-esteem.

It is not just a question of saving face. There are two clearly expressed viewpoints in the West now. One maintains that Saddam Husayn must be forced to leave Kuwait unconditionally and the situation that existed there before the aggression must be restored. The other viewpoint—most clearly expressed by Margaret Thatcher—is that it is necessary to "break his back" and eliminate Iraq's military potential. If the majority of politicians are guided by that idea now—I do not want to believe that—all political efforts are useless. Then there is only war.

Those who want to "break the back" of Saddam often ask: Where is the guarantee that he will not start war again sometime later? There is some logic to that. But is there really no alternative to war against Iraq then? The alternative must be to create a strategic security system in the region. But here we are approaching a very complex question. There cannot be strategic security in the Near East without a settlement of the Arab-Israeli conflict. When Saddam Husayn talks about the double standards which many people are applying to the Palestinian and Kuwaiti problems, he is generally right. Incidentally, he is playing on this both in the propaganda and political senses. One should not identify public opinion in the West with public opinion in the Arab countries or in the Third World as a whole. To believe that people in the East think the same way as people in the West is a big mistake. People in the Arab world live under the burden of the unresolved Palestinian problem. People there are very sensitive to the fact that the UN Security Council resolutions on Palestine have not been fulfilled for many years now. People there understand that a universal approach is needed.

[Vasilyev] It seems to me that we are not trying to understand Saddam Husayn's position deeply enough....

[Primakov] I do not want to justify Saddam. There is and there can be no justification for what he has done to Kuwait. But let us assess the situation realistically.

He practically won the war with Iran but has thrown away its results at a stroke. Many people in the Arab world understand his difficulties, including the need for an outlet to the sea. What if he were promised that, after the withdrawal of the Iraqi troops from Kuwait, talks would begin to resolve that question? Many people also believe that the question of the al-Rumaylah oilfields, which was jointly worked by Iraq and Kuwait and which was one of the causes of the conflict, can be resolved.

A third factor: Security Council sanctions have been imposed on Iraq. But it is not absolutely clear whether they will be lifted if Iraq leaves Kuwait. Iraq is afraid that they will remain. Its fears are reinforced by speeches

from many Western officials. In Britain and the United States, for example, who say that Iraq must continue to be stifled by these sanctions. U.S. Secretary of Defense Richard Cheney, for example, has been saying that openly. Saddam Husayn may wonder: Will the sanctions be lifted or not after his troops withdraw from Kuwait?

The fourth factor is the powerful U.S. military presence in the region. Will it be retained or not? During his news conference in Helsinki, G. Bush said that the U.S. troops will stay in the region until the normalization of the situation. This formula is too abstract. The U.S. troops question interests Saddam Husayn, indeed, as it does others: Will they remain there on the same scale and what will their withdrawal timetable be?

Fifth: Suppose that he begins to withdraw from Kuwait. Is there any guarantee that they will not strike a blow at him when he leaves the well fortified borders? During the Geneva talks, Tariq 'Aziz was told that this will not happen. Baker did the right thing, but there are other problems, too.

The sixth factor—a security system in the region. It really is necessary—the Iraqi intervention in Kuwait showed that once again, but one should not ignore Saddam's misgivings. He believes, for example, that they want to destroy him physically and that as soon as he defeated Iran he became persona non grata for the United States, Israel, and so forth. He fears that even if he withdraws he will remain the target of such a "plot." I am not dealing with the gist of the problem here but I am trying to show the man's psychology. For example, he gave me a cassette—an intercepted recording of a telephone conversation between, shall we say, a king and an emir. The conversation took place in June, even before the aggression. One said to the other: He must be destroyed. It is even possible to contact the Americans in this connection. The second man agreed. I do not intend to act as judge in this matter but Saddam's psychological makeup is dictated by this, among other things. Thus a security system must give him certain guarantees.

Point seven—tackling the settlement of other conflicts. This is very important for him and he constantly gave me to understand that he is ready for a looser linkage. He is ready to discuss this problem.

I see the philosophy of the political settlement of this crisis as follows: First, Iraq must leave Kuwait unconditionally and the situation which existed there before 2 August must be restored. Second, Saddam Husayn must be informed of what will happen after he leaves. I believe that even now there is an opportunity for a peaceful solution. It is necessary to find a means of distinguishing between reward for aggression and the creation of conditions for Saddam Husayn to leave Kuwait, including conditions which would enable the situation in the region as a whole to be stabilized.

[Vasilyev] In your opinion, how correct is the comment that Saddam Husayn wrongly assessed the Soviet Union's possible reaction to his invasion of Kuwait?

[Primakov] There are grounds for that conclusion. In addition, I think that he did not expect Saudi Arabia to invite the U.S. troops in. Nor did he foresee that the governments of certain Arab countries would side with the United States. All this constitutes a whole series of failures of assessment. I believe that if he had foreseen all this he would not have entered Kuwait.

Of course Saddam expected a different reaction from the Soviet Union. But he understands that Moscow is trying to resolve the problem by peaceful means and to avert war. In this respect he draws a distinction between the USSR and many other great powers.

Grigoryev on Peace Initiatives

TA1501191391 Jerusalem Domestic Service
in Hebrew 1705 GMT 15 Jan 91

[Telephone interview with Sergey Grigoryev, "spokesman" for Gorbachev, by correspondent Gid'on Remez on 15 January—recorded, Grigoryev's remarks are in English]

[Text] [Remez] We feel that not all the options to force the Iraqis to evacuate Kuwait were used up, and we welcome any attempt to prevent or even postpone the war, Sergey Grigoryev, a spokesman for President Gorbachev, told me this evening.

[Grigoryev] We believe that any initiative which can be useful, and which can postpone the timing for the war, or which can save us from any war is useful.

[Remez] War could bring grave consequences to the whole world, the spokesman warned, and added another element in the USSR concern, beyond the bloodshed: Fires in the oil fields near its territories could cause terrible ecologic damage. That is why we support the French initiative despite the fact that it has slim chances; 20 percent at the most.

[Grigoryev] Well, I would give it 20 out of a 100; or probably 10 percent for success. Even if it was one percent, I think this already would be a positive development.

[Remez] Grigoryev is careful, and attributes the main ray of hope to Moscow Radio: A report from this morning that Saddam might consider a partial withdrawal, which lies at the base of the French initiative. He stressed, however, that he wants it to be clear that if war is not prevented, they will not condemn the operation against Iraq.

[Grigoryev] I think the position of the Soviet Union towards the possible war will not be the position of a condemnation of aggression, because in fact there will be no aggression. It will be the punishment.

[Remez] We prefer a peaceful solution, but the USSR has been and still is a part of the coalition, the spokesman makes a point of stressing.

The news about a Soviet arms ship that was seized en route to Iraq was exaggerated. The 150 USSR technicians who stayed there because they so chose are not dealing with any military activity, according to him. We are not taking part in the international force for internal reasons. Public opinion will not accept this. The Afghanistan trauma was too hard. The people would be upset. That is why it has already been promised that no USSR soldier will leave for the Gulf, Grigoryev said.

Concerning Lithuania, President Gorbachev has a commitment to prevent any atrocities or loss of life, the spokesman said, but he did not exclude the possibility that the president might have to impose a military regime on the Baltic republics, though this is a very bad scenario.

A central consideration in Gorbachev's appointment of Bessmertnykh [to foreign minister] was continuity, the president's spokesman stressed.

[Grigoryev] Mr. Gorbachev cared about the continuity of the line. Mr. Bessmertnykh is an expert in U.S. affairs and U.S.-Soviet relations. This also indicates that the Soviet President pays a lot of attention to the developments of Soviet-American relations.

[Remez] Not only was Bessmertnykh a first deputy to the previous foreign minister, and the spokesman is careful not to mention Shevardnadze's name, he is also an expert in U.S.-USSR relations.

Grigoryev is therefore openly confirming the assumption that the appointment came to calm the fears of the West of a shift to the right in the USSR attitude. Should Israel also expect continuity in the attitude expressed by Shevardnadze that there is no reason not to reestablish diplomatic relations? I hope so, the spokesman said, but....

[Grigoryev] The thing is that the relationship not only between the Soviet Union and Israel, but it is also the relationship in the triangle, or even more than triangle, because there are a lot of sides involved.

[Remez] As is well known, the USSR supports the international conference, which was also mentioned in the French initiative, and which the Gulf crisis only made its importance even clearer. This sounds very much like Shevardnadze, because the conference is not explicitly presented as a precondition for relations.

What exactly did Gorbachev mean when he told Edgar Bronfman that the door in Moscow is open for a visit by Prime Minister Shamir?

[Grigoryev] I was present at the conversation, and my feeling was not that the invitation was for a visit. My feeling is that what the president actually meant was an invitation to a dialogue.

[Remez] So, if there is no major breakthrough, at least there is no large setback to our interests, that could have

been possible had the Arabist Yevgeniy Primakov been appointed, as was first published, Grigoryev said.

Deputy Cited After Iraq Trip

*PM1501125591 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA
in Russian 15 Jan 91 First Edition p 3*

[Interview with USSR People's Deputy Rizoali Odzhiyev by political observer S. Karkhanin; place and date not given: "Soviet People Should Not Fight"]

[Text] Only those who have never passed through fire and blood can speak lightly of war. Rizoali Odzhiyev's destiny has taken shape differently. In Afghanistan he looked death in the face several times and then, when the interethnic conflict in Dushanbe erupted, USSR People's Deputy R. Odzhiyev together with former fellow soldiers risked their lives to restore order in the city. He recently submitted an application asking to be admitted to the ranks of the CPSU.

As is well known, the question of the situation in the Persian Gulf has been included on the agenda of the resumed USSR Supreme Soviet session. R. Odzhiyev, who recently returned from a trip to Baghdad, talks in a conversation with your SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA political observer:

We USSR people's deputies, representatives of the USSR Supreme Soviet committee for the affairs of internationalist servicemen, Hero of the Soviet Union Ruslan Aushev, Aleksandr Kolodeznikov from Yakutia, and I, all three of us veterans of the Afghan war, set off to Iraq to meet with that country's leadership in connection with the conflict in the Persian Gulf. The aim was to present the president of Iraq with a document—our appeal—and to discuss the situation in Kuwait in order to form our own position here, in our legislature, when debates begin on options for resolving the problem. The appeal says: The participants in the fighting in Afghanistan, people who have seen blood and the death of their comrades and of civilians and seen the misfortune which war brings, are convinced that an armed conflict is not the method for explaining relations between states. We must realize that the world has entered a phase when we cannot hope that war will lead to success. We believe that this applies to the Iraqi leadership and to the governments of the states which oppose it. The only path is the peaceful, political, diplomatic path.

Why did we decide to go to Iraq? A colossal military might and a great deal of combat equipment is concentrated in this region now on both sides and in addition it is no secret that at least one side possesses binary and chemical weapons. In addition there are enormous stocks of oil which could cause an ecological catastrophe on an unprecedented scale. An armed conflict of enormous destructive force could erupt and affect many countries. We wanted to voice our opinion to the leaders of Iraq. Ruslan and I were wounded in the war and we argued not even as politicians but as people who do not

want other people to suffer, too. Of course, we relied on the documents of our recent congress and the line of the USSR Supreme Soviet.

The day after our arrival we met with Saleh, chairman of the Iraqi National Assembly, and a day later with Vice President Ramadan. Then we were received by President Saddam Husayn and the talk lasted three hours. He recalled that in his opinion Kuwait is an inalienable part of Iraq and mentioned the historical aspect of the problem and the fact that it should be resolved comprehensively. Saddam Husayn believes that the Soviet Union should act consistently, taking into account its strategic interests. There was mention of the treaty between the USSR and Iraq under which our country receives a billion in profit. I thought once again that there is no alternative to the peaceful path.

I am sure that if we succeed in resolving the problem of Kuwait by this path it will be easier to overcome the other problems—those of Palestine, Afghanistan, Cambodia, Lebanon.... We are now faced with a serious test for the new thinking, for the new foreign policy course. A compromise on both sides is necessary for reason to triumph. We must bear responsibility not only to our own peoples but also to the whole world.

We told the Iraqi leaders precisely and clearly that not a single Soviet soldier will fight in this region in any circumstances. It is well known that there are people who want to go there as volunteers: Some intend to fight for Iraq, some against it. I think that considerations of expediency play a ascertain part here, it is no accident that some newspapers are writing so eagerly about such cases. But we are convinced that if it is a question of people's lives we cannot allow representatives of our country to take part in an armed conflict, whatever the considerations by which they are guided.

How to prevent war? There are several options. I personally advocate a series of international conferences. They can in my opinion ease the sides' fierce antagonism.

I am also alarmed by the following point. The problem has an aspect which is not always considered, I have in mind the religious aspect. If fighting begins, it may play a particularly important role. We shall not forget that that in our country there are Muslims living in many republics and oblasts and they are far from indifferent to whether or not the blood of their coreligionists is shed. Consequently we must do everything to ensure that shots do not erupt, for their echo could resound far beyond the Persian Gulf.

We also discussed with Saddam Husayn the fate of the Soviet servicemen captured in Afghanistan and the talks between Iraq and Iran which are now proceeding very intensively and which could, it seems to me, help ensure that our soldiers are able to return home. There is hope. There is also hope, incidentally, with regard to the conflict in Kuwait. Many people realize that if war nonetheless does begin there, the international Armed

Forces and the U.S. troops will have a hard time.... Iraq is not Grenada, it has a powerful defense industry, serious missiles, and chemicals. What if all the oilfields which are already mined are blown up?

The prognosis in the event of war is very regrettable even if we digress from the inevitable deaths and injuries. Take the economy. Oil is the blood of civilization and consequently an energy crisis will affect many developed and developing countries. A catastrophe on Iraq's oilfields will touch our country with the black wing of an ecological disaster. Nor will we manage without economic losses and under present conditions it is particularly dangerous to allow them.

How were we treated in Iraq? The very fact of our three-hour dialogue with the president attests to the respect for our delegation's status and for the fact that the USSR Supreme Soviet intends to discuss the Persian Gulf situation. In this connection I cannot understand the position of some of our newspapers which are displaying an overt bias toward a conflict. Yet Iraq, I was convinced in Baghdad, has its own view of the situation. One can dispute it but one cannot simply sweep it aside without consideration. In addition, the United States is a long way from us while the Arab countries are right next to us. Algeria, Mauritania, and Tunisia have supported Iraq and here I see the first symptom of the religious aspect of the problem, which I have mentioned. Iraq also has an unequivocal position.

I must say that the USSR Embassy in Baghdad is in my opinion working in a very skilled and calm manner and the diplomats' mood is cheerful. As for our specialists still in Iraq, some of them do not want to leave, others cannot leave or else work at enterprises would stop. Actually, no one is detaining them by force, everything is on a legitimate legal basis.

To sum up I shall stress that the position of our deputies' committee comes down to the fact that the conflict should be resolved only by peaceful means and that Soviet people should in no event take part in hostilities. It is defended and will be defended by all USSR people's deputies who passed through the flames of Afghanistan. More than enough blood has been shed. A human life is priceless.

Human Consequences of Gulf War Viewed

PM1501141691 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
15 Jan 91 First Edition p 4

[Report by Yuriy Glukhov "Viewpoint" under the rubric "Topic Number One: Persian Gulf": "The Gun Is Cocked..."]

[Text] So today the UN Security Council ultimatum expires. By 15 January Iraq, which committed an act of aggression against Kuwait, was supposed to withdraw from its territory. The refusal to fulfill the international community's demands now entails the application against Iraq of not only economic sanctions, but also

forcible methods of influence. U.S. President G. Bush has already enlisted the appropriate support from Congress. That is practically the starting pistol, if you take into account the fact that American troops form the backbone of the anti-Iraq coalition. The Iraqi legislature, in turn, has voted unanimously against any concessions on Kuwait, supporting Saddam Husayn's hard line.

The opposing sides have taken up a rigid stance like boxers in the ring, preparing for stunning blows. But for all the outward appearance of a balance of forces, they are in different weight categories. The United States has one of the biggest armies and, most importantly, one of the best equipped with the latest weapons. On its side are not only many of the NATO allies, but also major Arab countries like Egypt, Syria, and Saudi Arabia. Paradoxically, for the first time in the entire history of the Arab-Israeli conflict an Arab-American alliance has formed. The extent of the Iraqi threat proved so serious that it brought opponents into the same camp. After all, the United States is an active ally and devoted friend to Israel.

In essence Iraq is already on the ropes as regards the economic blockade and the world community's condemnation. The aggressor has suffered a moral defeat. It is not hard to predict the final outcome of the fight, either. So why has public opinion flared up to such an extent? Why have antiwar demonstrations swept through many countries, including the United States itself? Are they in defense of Baghdad's aggressive aspirations? No. People are alarmed by the possible catastrophic consequences of war. There is every reason for anxiety.

The very concentration of military might in a relatively small theater of hostilities—more than a million soldiers, mountains of military hardware—is terrifying. According to some reports, the United States plans to send 2,000 aircraft into the air to inflict a first strike on Iraq. It is hard even to imagine the scale of devastation and possible human casualties. Who can predict the consequences of Iraq's counterstrike, particularly if it uses chemical weapons?

No one knows what upheavals a military clash could cause in the Arab world itself, split as it is into supporters and opponents of Iraq. Coups, acts of terrorism, mass riots? No one knows how it will affect the development of the Arab-Israeli conflict. After all, Arabs are now fighting each other. Iraq and the PLO are in one camp, and many of their former Arab allies and sponsors in the other.

Pictures of ecological disaster are painted like the end of the world. It is predicted that the columns of burning oil, if the oilfields are bombed, could take months to extinguish. The globe is at risk of a chronic rise in temperature as a result of mankind's suicidal acts.

In general the situation is so dangerous that it requires the highest degree of responsibility for every action, every step on the part of all the participants in the conflict, especially those who provoked it. Errors in big

politics are too costly for ordinary people, who are the ones who have to pay for them directly. The Iraqis know how much blood the many years of senseless, futile confrontation with Iran cost them, ending where it began. The Americans remember Vietnam.

The antiwar demonstrations have shown that human intelligence does not accept the word "failure" as the result of talks when the life or death of hundreds, even thousands, of people, the peace and prosperity of millions, the future of peace, and the peoples' security are in the balance. History has no reverse gear. You cannot play it backward like a movie, resurrecting cities from the ruins and raising the dead.

This is the essence of the Soviet Union's stance, expressed in the USSR Supreme Soviet resolution. Our country's highest legislative body gave support for multifaceted actions aimed at a peaceful resolution of the Persian Gulf conflict in line with the norms of international law and the requirements of UN Security Council resolutions. Peace efforts cannot be regarded as closed. They cannot have a time limit or be cut off on a particular date.

Yemeni Foreign Minister Views Peace Prospects

LD1501185191 Moscow Central Television Vostok Program and Orbita Networks in Russian 1530 GMT 15 Jan 91

[Report on interview with 'Abd-al-Karim al-Iryani, Yemeni Foreign Minister by correspondent A. Murashkin in Yemen, date not given; from the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] Sana, the capital of united Yemen: The threat of war has left its mark on this city, as on many other cities and countries located directly in the Arabian crisis zone. The peaceful background, calm in the Eastern manner, is unable to conceal the general nervousness and the increasingly tense situation. People anxiously follow newspaper, magazine, television, and radio reports. Speaking with the most varied people—journalists, traders, taxi drivers, and students—we noticed no disagreements between them regarding the Gulf situation or in their evaluation of the actions of one or other of the sides which have been drawn into the conflict.

But, all this, as they say, is not the official aspect, just the mood of people. How is the situation that has arisen in the region evaluated at the state level? We asked Yemeni Foreign Minister 'Abd-al-Karim al-Iryani:

[Begin al-Iryani recording in Arabic with superimposed Russian translation] Our state advocates a peaceful resolution of the conflict. We consider, on the one hand, that Iraq should remove its troops from Kuwait and, on the other, that all foreign troop groupings should leave the Persian Gulf zone. By today, the situation taking shape is extremely dangerous. It grew particularly heated after the collapse of the talks between the foreign ministers of Iraq and the United States. All the same, we in the

Republic of Yemen feel the door to a peaceful settlement of the conflict is not yet finally shut. There is still a chance of finding a peaceful resolution to this most acute problem. [end recording]

U.S., Iraqi Gulf War Preparations Reported

91UF0331A Moscow LITERATURNAYA GAZETA
in Russian No 1, 9 Jan 91 p 1

[Article by unidentified LITERATURNAYA GAZETA correspondent followed by report by LITERATURNAYA GAZETA correspondent Sergey Medvedko from Damascus: "The Persian Gulf: Seven Days Until War?"]

[Text]

The View From New York

On 9 January, what many here consider to be the final attempt to find a way out of the Iraqi crisis will be undertaken—Secretary of State J. Baker and Iraqi Minister of Foreign Affairs Tariq 'Aziz are meeting in Geneva.

As to how the meeting will go and what will be the result—no one will hazard a guess. It is being said in Washington that the secretary of state is going to Geneva to point out a course towards peaceful resolution of the conflict, but at the same time not overly reassure the public that agreement can be reached with Iraq. Baker clearly will succeed in this, the second part of his mission. There is no reason essentially to discuss matters with Tariq 'Aziz, he stated, although there are grounds for the meeting. The Iraqi minister, for his part, warned that Iraq will not remove its forces from Kuwait by the UN-appointed deadline.

This is psychological warfare which has long been raging between the two powers, but Washington's volleys are intended for the Americans themselves, who must be prepared for war. U.S. leaders have now begun to talk quite persistently about the necessity for casualties the war will require from the Americans. Day after day I watch on television as marines conduct training assaults on trenches, grenades explode, and machine gun bursts ring out. Colonel Ronald Williams, a senior medical service officer, states: "We have protection from all types of Iraqi weapons except biological—that we cannot defend against." For the first time since the Vietnam war the U.S. Army has organized burial teams. They, too, have undergone training—stuffing one another into plastic body bags and loading them on helicopters.

All the same, is the U.S. Army prepared to begin war on 15 January? There is no unified opinion on this score, even among generals in the Arabian desert. One can find press reports to the effect that a number of authoritative Pentagon sources doubt their troops will be able to attain the required conditions by the deadline set by politicians. An atmosphere of doubt, uncertainty, and contradiction—this is what presently characterizes the American attitude towards the approaching war.

The View From the Near East

"We are awaiting the war impatiently," a Syrian acquaintance told me joyfully and explained: "We badly want to teach the Americans a lesson—they underestimate Iraqi might and Arab nationalism."

Iraq firmly intends to fight. According to reports issuing from there in recent days, Kuwait is surrounded by minefields, antitank ditches, earthen ramparts, and barbed wire. More than half a million troops are concentrated there, as are 6,500 tanks and other armored vehicles, and about 3,000 artillery pieces. Air defense units are deployed there. Eight million Iraqi volunteers have already signed up with the Army. Tens of thousands of people are prepared to execute operations against the Americans in the form of suicide missions.

Meanwhile, civil defense exercises are being conducted among city dwellers and preparations are being completed for possible evacuation of the population. An order has been issued to remove extraneous materials from the cellars of homes. It has been learned that existing bomb shelters can accommodate only one-fifth of the capital's inhabitants.

Propaganda efforts are also actively underway. Every action is being taken in Baghdad to see to it that, in the event of the outbreak of combat operations, the Iraq-Kuwait crisis will become a war of the Islamic peoples against Western states which have come to the defense of occupied Islamic Kuwait.

East Europe

Attacks on Soviet Consulate in Poland Reported

LD1501140791 Moscow TASS International Service
in Russian 1200 GMT 15 Jan 91

[By TASS correspondent Vlas Burbulis]

[Excerpt] Warsaw, 15 Jan (TASS)—P.D. Sardachuk, USSR consul general in Krakow, has told a TASS correspondent that a crowd of several thousand people went on the rampage yesterday outside the Soviet diplomatic mission. This went on from 1300 until 1800 local time. The main entrance was broken down and petrol bombs were thrown into the grounds of the diplomatic mission, causing a fire. The attackers broke into the grounds of the consulate general and started smashing windows and trying to enter the building. Police units used water cannon and went to the defense of staff at the USSR Consulate General, dispersing the demonstrators. T. Piekarz, voivod of Cracow, appeared on local television calling for an end to "actions which dishonor Poles and are against international law."

Considerable material damage has been done to the building housing the Soviet diplomatic mission in Krakow. There are no casualties amongst Soviet staff but some demonstrators and police were hurt, P.D. Sardachuk said.

There were similar actions on a smaller scale in other Polish towns with Soviet missions yesterday—Poznan, Szczecin, and Lublin.

West Europe

Soviet, FRG Legislators View Troop Withdrawal

LD1501093791 Moscow TASS International Service
in Russian 1535 GMT 14 Jan 91

[By TASS correspondent Nikolay Kalintsev]

[Text] Bonn, 14 Jan (TASS) - Issues connected with the stationing of Soviet troops on German territory and their withdrawal were the focus of attention at a meeting of Soviet and German legislators held in Bonn today. The Soviet delegation, which is making a tour of a number of European countries, is headed by Leonid Sharin, acting chairman of the Committee for Questions of Defense and State Security of the USSR Supreme Soviet.

Replying to journalists' questions after the meeting, Sharin stated that the legislators of the two countries had discussed ways of fulfilling the treaties and agreements connected with the stationing and withdrawal of Soviet troops. Many problems have not yet been resolved, he said, particularly concerning the timing of the withdrawal of troops, property issues, and relations with the local population. We would like to involve the German side in the resolution of the problem of transit across Poland, because the Polish authorities are placing obstacles in the way of the transit of our troops from Germany to the USSR, he asserted. We drew the attention of our interlocutors to the unlawfulness of the FRG's actions toward persons who have deserted from units of the western group of troops, and who to all intents and purposes are being given political asylum. There was also talk of the need for a respectful attitude on the part of the German population to the burials of Soviet servicemen on the country's territory, and to monuments erected at places where they fell in the Great War for the Fatherland.

Bernd Wilz (Christian Democratic union), chairman of the Bundestag Commission for Defense Issues, expressed the opinion that the legislators of the two countries could play an important role in deepening inter-state relations. In view of the complexity of the problems connected with the stationing and withdrawal of Soviet troops, he said, we would like to intensify links between the relevant committees and commissions of the two legislatures and perhaps even create some kind of interlegislative body. For our part, we intend to do everything possible to ensure that the Soviet servicemen leave Germany with honor and dignity, B. Wilz stressed.

Sharin Remarks on Lithuania

AU1601111191 Hamburg DIE WELT in German
16 Jan 91 p 1

["lz" report: "Gorbachev Must Have Been Informed"]

[Text] Potsdam—Despite difficulties in accommodating Army members, Moscow intends to carry out the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Germany according to plan this year. In 1991 just under one-third of the Western group is scheduled to leave Germany. In Potsdam, the chairman of the Supreme Soviet Defense Committee, Leonid Sharin, who is at the head of an experts' delegation that is currently visiting the FRG, mentioned two obstacles: living space for the troops must be created quickly with German help, and the Supreme Soviet might fail to agree to the treaties that lead up to German unity.

The deputy justified the use of soldiers in Lithuania. The Army has been "provoked and terrorized" for a long time. Sharin expressed significant doubts about Gorbachev's statement that he knew nothing about the Army action. Sharin said that he cannot imagine a president "who is not informed."

Talks With West European Groups on Terrorism Held

91WR0105A Moscow LITERATURNAYA GAZETA
in Russian No 1, 9 Jan 91 p 4

[Unattributed report: "No Bombs This Time"]

[Text] We report today on the results of the latest Soviet-West European meeting on strengthening international cooperation in the fight against international terrorism. It was held in Great Britain thanks to the efforts of the University of St. Andrews, and also the Soviet Peace Committee and LITERATURNAYA GAZETA, which decided to continue the dialogue initiated two years ago in Moscow at the West European level between representatives of the public in the USSR and the United States. Eminent political experts, lawyers, and journalists from Great Britain, the Soviet Union, Italy, and France drew up a set of measures that will help the governments of our countries to establish closer cooperation in preventing acts of international terrorism. The earth must burn beneath the feet of terrorists!

Press Release from the University of St. Andrews (Scotland)

The second West European-Soviet meeting took place on 17 and 18 December 1990 at the university in the town of St. Andrews. (The first took place in May 1990 in Moscow.) It was led on the Soviet side by Oleg Prudkov, and on the West European side by Professor Paul Wilkinson. At the plenary sessions a broad range of issues was discussed dealing with the danger of the phenomenon of terrorism, the threat of the outbreak of ethnic conflicts, and the problem of victims of terrorism. Questions pertaining to aviation security, the exchange of information, the Near East, and the interconnection between the drug business and organized crime, and politically based violence were discussed in special groups.

The concluding documents of the conference included, inter alia, the following recommendations:

On Safety in Civil Aviation

- refusal to regard an act of terrorism as a political action allegedly taken on behalf of some just cause;
- devising measures that would help to close off all channels against the penetration of terrorists, explosives, and weapons onto aircraft.

Exchange of Information

- to affirm the appeal made to governments and special services with respect to cooperation in matters pertaining to the exchange of information, and other fields connected with the fight against international terrorism;
- to deem it advisable to set up a working group of experts for the purpose of preparing a draft on the formation of a coordinating center for the exchange of information;
- to make more extensive use of the mass media to provide honest information on the fight against terrorism and its results.

The Near East

- cooperation in the fight against international terrorism through mechanisms already existing in the United Nations and UNESCO, and also, if required, the creation of a special international organ;

- any agreement to settle the Iraq-Kuwait conflict should be regarded as a set of measures against terrorism.

The Fight Against Drug Terrorism

- the exchange of information between the countries of West Europe and the Soviet Union, and also the provision of assistance to the latter in handling the data bank for this problem;
- revamping of the legal structures that would serve with the greatest effectiveness in the fight against the international drug business, and in particular the laundering of drug money.

P.S. Despite the atmosphere of amicability and concern on the part of our Western colleagues, there was nevertheless still some "discomfort" at the conference. The fact is that in August 1990 at a similar international meeting in London it was only by a miracle that it was possible to avert the explosion of a bomb. The timing mechanism on it was set to coincide with a speech by the well-known English researcher, the director of the Institute for Problems of Conflict and Terrorism (and cochairman at our meeting), Paul Wilkinson. But this, as they say, is by the way.

Thus, yet another step has been taken along the path of eradicating a very dangerous phenomenon of our modern mad, mad world—international terrorism. As one of the organizers, the director of the International Security Foundation, E. Grove, said in his speech, one important result of this conference will be the publication in the very near future of a book dealing with the fight against this evil.

Supreme Soviet

Legislators Criticize Yeltsin, Baltic Leaders

LD1501193191 Moscow TASS in English 1914 GMT
15 Jan 91

[By TASS legislative correspondent Ivan Ivanov]

[Text] Moscow January 15 TASS—The Soviet parliament discussed the situation in Lithuania and other Baltic republics this afternoon.

The permanent Latvian representative in Moscow, Janis Peters, assured the Supreme Soviet that "the Latvian Republic will achieve its goals only by political means through parliamentary work and reasonable compromise to protect the life, rights and dignity of every person. The republic expects a similar reaction from Soviet central authorities."

Some deputies blamed the crisis in Lithuania on the federal leadership. Latvian Andrey Danzberg, for instance, alleged the existence of a "scenario" under which what happened in Lithuania is to be replayed in Latvia and Estonia.

He said the timing of the clashes was far from accidental: "With the world's nations engrossed in the Gulf crisis, the calculation was on their having no time to react" to the events in the Baltics.

But economist Aleksey Boyko from the Ukrainian miners' city of Donetsk argued back: "Quasi democrats attempt to misrepresent developments in Lithuania as 'Kremlin intrigues', while keeping mum about widespread popular discontent and failing to notice infringements on the rights of non-indigenous people."

Albert Shamikhin, a deputy from Riga, Latvia, supported him, noting a "continuous offensive on human rights" in the Baltics. Commenting on Russian President Boris Yeltsin's activities following the events in Lithuania, he said that "there is no concern for the Russians in Yeltsin's actions, in fact he is betraying the Russians' interests."

"Yeltsin is simply out of touch with Lithuania, the worries of local people and the results of democracy he is so concerned about," Shamikhin said.

"The Russian population in the republic is outraged by his provocative actions, including appeals to the United Nations, to servicemen and others," Shamikhin added.

Moscow scientist Aleksandr Krayko said that if the Baltic republics want to secede, they should act in keeping with a relevant Soviet law. "No one may violate the rights of citizens and Soviet laws," he stressed.

"Democracy in the Baltic republics has failed to materialise," said Tadeush Pupkevich, a worker from Estonia.

He accused nationalist extremists of causing the greatest harm to democracy. "They are burying democracy," Pupkevich said.

He added that "human rights are violated in the Baltics under the banner of democracy," which is why the policies of the so-called democratic leadership there "are failing in every respect."

Pupkevich called for the immediate formation of a coalition government in Lithuania and the disarmament of all armed groups there.

Interior Minister Boris Pugo reported information to the effect that about a thousand demobilised Lithuanian troops were issued submachine-guns and swore allegiance to the incumbent Lithuanian Government.

"We are very worried over this information. All measures must be adopted to disarm various groups and make sure that all weapons illegally kept by the population be turned in," he said.

President Mikhail Gorbachev then spoke at deputies' request.

Gorbachev Speech Criticizes Yeltsin

LD1501181591 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian
1620 GMT 15 Jan 91

[Speech by President Mikhail Gorbachev to the USSR Supreme Soviet session in the Kremlin on 15 January; from the "USSR Supreme Soviet Diary" program—recorded]

[Text] I have not figured it out exactly, but this morning about 40 deputies asked this question [not further identified]. According to press reports, on 14 January this year, Yeltsin, chairman of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic Supreme Soviet, spoke about the need to create a Russian army. We consider such a statement to be a crude violation of the USSR Constitution and a challenge to the supreme bodies of power of the USSR. We ask you to voice your opinion on this statement by Yeltsin, Boris Nikolayevich, on 15 January of this year at the USSR Supreme Soviet session.

The session is coming to an end, and I am, so to speak, fulfilling this request of the deputies. I am of the same opinion as the deputies who have signed here: This is the crudest violation of the USSR Constitution. The very fact that the statement was made, the call for this, is not merely a challenge to the supreme bodies of power of the USSR but adds the material of confrontation to this already strained situation, the tense situation, in the country; it adds a stimulator, a catalyst. I condemn this as a deliberately provocative political act that does not promote the consolidation of society but, on the contrary, is one that incites a clash of opinions and confrontation. This must be rejected and condemned. Comrade Yeltsin, Boris Nikolayevich, must acknowledge this self-critically and withdraw such calls.

We will count on his not having finally lost all of his sense of prudence. That is the first thing.

It so happened that, before it was my turn to speak and come to the rostrum, there were speeches here that were, so to speak, on the same level as the accusations being made from the platform, of which Comrade Yeltsin is a member.

It is totally incomprehensible to me: I do not understand the intention of the Latvian representative who asked for the floor already, in the morning, and who was given it. I do not remember exactly his surname... [voice from the floor] Yes, you, Yes. Yesterday, Comrade Peters and Comrade Nikolay Vasilyevich (Neyland) visited me. Before that, well, a bit earlier, I talked to Supreme Soviet Chairman Gorbunovs and Premier Godmanis. We discussed the situation, the way it was developing and taking shape; we shared impressions and observations. I told them that, you know, events had suddenly taken such a sharp turn within such a brief time span—literally several hours; within 48 hours—they had entered such an acute phase in Lithuania, I simply did not expect that, generally speaking, to a degree. Yes, and I told them—I repeated to the comrades yesterday, both to Comrade Peters and Comrade (Neyland), that I was worried, and I told this to Comrade Gorbunovs and Godmanis—about the stream, literally the stream, of telegrams. I have been snowed under with telegrams from many people in Latvia, both Latvians and non-Latvians, Russian-speaking and others, with resolute protests against what is taking place there. Large sacks are literally standing; so many appeals have accumulated. I told them: Please, pay attention; something worth our attention is brewing; perhaps, it is necessary; something is wrong politically. It means one has to change and to correct policy.

Today, Comrade Peters, I welcome...[changes thought] The Supreme Soviet has adopted an important decision on a very acute issue. Not everybody here has understood what you read out. You understood later? That is, the Supreme Soviet itself has admitted one of the decisions that exacerbated the confrontation. I told them: How did you manage to fall out with the workers, with the military, and now with the peasants over such a short period?

Well, how? I showed them: Because on this score you have adopted acts which counter the law and impinge upon the vital interests of all these strata. By adopting the citizenship laws, you have put people who live there in a situation of being outcasts, some sort of second class people. You adopted decisions in which servicemen find themselves unable to find jobs or get residence permits or ration cards, and so on and so forth. They must prove they are human beings. You want respect and some sort of a normal reaction? Where do you look for the causes?

You adopted decisions which make it possible for land-owners to return to their plots, and they are already looking for their homes and their plots alike. Comrade

Gorbunovs says: We have written that the owner can return to his land holding but, after that—we have said but—we have listed cases where this cannot happen and thus, he alleges, we have introduced such conditions that, in practice, the owner will not return to the land. Listen! I say: People, read what you wrote, to the effect that you are restoring the owner's rights, and this means that it affects collective and state farms, individual subsidiary holdings, the new villages, and everything that has been built. You want the reaction to be normal now? He said all this. I conveyed this to comrades yesterday and said: You know, yesterday they came with a request that—and they, themselves, feel that the situation is extremely tense, and I share this—things should not turn out in such a way that, in this extremely tense situation, some sort of clumsy movements could again make the army subunits act or something will take place there. All in all, in a situation such as this, to foretell to anyone, given all the harshness we are now carrying out—and you should know that—here attempts to say that the president is obfuscating this issue in some sort of way, like there are demands by the congress and the Supreme Soviet while the president is looking for a loophole here so as to evade, as it were, all these demands. [sentence as heard]

Just listen: What accusations are these to make against the president? Why keep him as president? It is necessary, speaking overall, to rebuff such intrigues. These attempts, just as such demands, are taking place all the time. All are located at their dispositions. But, you understand, places of disposition, the family, everything is in motion. Society is moving.

I remember Stavropol, where I lived and worked for 25 years. There, too, there are three colleges, troop units; there is a commandant. Patrols go into the towns. When it is required, we ask them to intensify the patrols when the situation in the town is tense. That is how life goes on, and when this situation gets more tense, you know, this can happen. There are firm decrees on this matter, and they stem from the decisions of the Congress and the Supreme Soviet. There cannot be any others here. No one has the right to give, and no one will give.

It is necessary to see that often things arise which for us, in general, are illogical. They are dictated by some sort of situation which is not subject to...[changes thought] it proceeds contrary to logic and to common sense when people have been brought to a certain state. We should all know this. In this case, this does not refer just to this. On the contrary, all sorts of things happen, and processes arise.

I must let you know that I get letters, and delegations have been telling me what has happened in Lithuania and Latvia. What is going on here? The president has abandoned us, and the Supreme Soviet has abandoned us here. [shout from the floor: "That's right"]

The local authorities bring us down and then, they say to us, the only thing we can do now is to get on with settling the task ourselves.

We cannot allow this to happen; neither the center nor the republics can embark upon such a...[changes thought] so as not to see this, so if such a situation arises it is difficult to foretell what could happen.

In other words, the center and the republics must operate strictly in accordance with the laws and, above all, defend people's security. What, you understand, is the point of your coming out and spreading such accusations? Are you just beginning to read prepared documents or something? It won't do for me to listen to this. What is it? You have come out and you start to read such memorandums about the irresponsibility of the authorities? You are smiling, you see, you're smiling! You are playing at intrigue!

That's the first rejoinder. The second rejoinder is, so to speak, a general one. Yes, comrades, we must not allow such a situation. I have said this, we must not allow such a situation—it is quite possible—whereby a complex political process develops and there is a certain—let's be frank—struggle and a confrontation. It is not just, so to speak, a struggle of opinions and a quest for some kind of truth or an alternative. I should welcome all this; we must preserve this; after all, this is democracy. There is here something which could put in doubt our whole policy and inflict a... [changes thought] we ourselves will suffer a defeat in this great cause which we have been conducting in the country. There are signs that there is a feverish quest for the image of an external enemy.

Listen, instead of just looking at why this is happening—these disturbances—or why such a situation is becoming strained in this or that republic, or in this or that region, no, we must straightaway find out who is inciting all this, who is giving these instructions. We started to urge people that a dialogue is needed. I told Gorbunov Anatoliy Valerianovich, I am glad to greet you—and any Council of the Federation participants who are here will confirm this—I said to him I am glad to greet you, that you have finally come to the Council of the Federation. How can we conduct a dialogue with you? I was just trying to speak to Landsbergis, chairman of the Supreme Council of the Lithuanian republic, when he says: I am voicing a protest. What you are saying does not apply. You are meddling in the affairs of an independent state.

How can I explain to him? How can one conduct a dialogue and seek ways toward a normalization and a conciliation of the situation. Nevertheless, that is what we do. Now, comrades, during the interval, everytime I go outside it is not to get a whiff of air, so to speak; I can get a gulf of air on the move, so to speak, so I can have another conversation.

Comrade Dementey telephoned. They fly in here tonight. He asks that someone—they will return—that someone from the Soviet of Nationalities should be here to liaise with them so that this process which has been

going on, this dialogue, can get underway, so that they can listen to one another, so that they can back it up. We came to an agreement, and I referred to Comrade Tarazevich and Comrade Nishanov so that they could determine what to do, and I think that it was Comrade Tarazevich—we asked him to come, he is an experienced man from Belorussia, a neighboring republic, he knows a lot of people, and I think that it is necessary, so to speak—so that he would come and continue the constructive mission. We were open (?to this), we must look for this, how to draw positions together, to reach an agreement. Comrade (?Kupkevich) is correct in what he says: In this situation, we must discover how to act.

It has turned out, instead, that we have condemned one kind of diktat, one kind of monopoly, have condemned everything in the past, have gone along the path of democracy... [changes thought] and have arrived at an even worse kind of monopoly which, you see, has already completely discredited itself, whose time is running out, but those with a shade of brown are already emerging from behind their backs. Then, everybody must think: What is it that we want to do, generally speaking? After all, one must think and take responsibility. This is yet another remark of a general nature. Why do we now keep silent in some cases and shout loudly in others? This is a very correct thought, a very correct thought. Why on Earth, when all these laws which violate the rights, the sacred rights, the holy rights, of man and individual in this or that republic... [changes thought] I will not mention the Baltics now, so that all these thoughts should not fall on this redhot soil and be not thrown into that disturbed society. Why do outstanding fighters for democracy keep silent? Why is the so-called left-wing radical press keeping silent about this? What is the matter? Why is it that when a newspaper becomes a proponent of only a single point of view it is silent?

Listen, let us speak out, let people start discussing issues in every newspaper, from PRAVDA to... [changes thought] where is it... [changes thought] it has turned out that, before having gained, we have already lost. All this, this is delimitation in progress, you see, all this. After all, I read newspapers; I review them, so to speak; I look.

Listen, if I, as I have said... [changes thought] now I have made up my mind to keep myself in the rational phase, not in the emotional one, with the things that are being done against the president, all these calls and incitements to the effect that if this president cannot be overthrown in a constitutional way one has to raise the masses. There are such calls.

In Kuzbass, a statement has already been devised to disband the Congress of People's Deputies, the Supreme Soviet, and to sweep everything away. This is...[changes thought] and incidentally with representatives of the corps of deputies of the Russian federation taking part. I was given only one name, but there were several of them, three or four people. I was given the name of (Denisenkov). Using such methods, I assure you, one cannot solve problems, restore the situation, or ensure stability. This

will lead to a total impasse. A uniform approach is required for everything, and this is the Constitution, the law, otherwise democracy will be defeated. Democracy must rely on the firmness of laws and on the power which ensures this legality, otherwise we will suffer a defeat, an enormous defeat given such a turn in the path of renewing all our society.

Finally, it is good that the issue of disarming has been raised again and everything directed at the president. The decree must be carried out. So, let us ask half the representatives of republics to stand up now; about half of them, no less, oppose carrying out the decree. They are for carrying out the decree, but on the basis of idle chatter, that is, let someone or somewhere...[changes thought] let us, let us agree on the following: the Supreme Soviet gives the president all the plenary powers to use all the means at his disposal to disarm.

Fine, with your support we will start negotiations with the republics. This is the...[Unidentified speaker interrupts from the floor]

You know, you have before you a man who understands the entire importance and the entire urgency of this problem. I said this to provoke a reaction on this issue. This isn't an easy thing to do. There are thousands, tens of thousands, of weapons, and you could commit such a carnage that these gangsters will stay alive, while they, as a rule, shoot from hospitals, from the windows of residential blocks, and you try returning fire there. But, I think one thing is clear: I understand the position of the Supreme Soviet, that we should not yield, proceed step-by-step to this, for as long as there are weapons scattered all around the republics and regions, there will be no peace. That will always be a reason to exploit this for those forces which are thinking about completely different objectives. That's why, you know, I think we've no differences here. We have to go along this road and collaborate, both the president and the republics. As soon as something happens, you hear: No, wait a little Comrade president; no, wait a little, we beg you; and so on and so forth. Yes, I think having no regard is a really serious question, but we have to go along the road of disarmament.

The last thing: I would like to support the statement that was read here, at the supreme congress, on behalf of the group of deputies who are workers. I would like to support it, and I hope you will support it, too. Others write more eloquently, floridly sometimes they touch upon certain things, but for us the most important thing is that this document written by workers and submitted to the Supreme Soviet has not received due attention from us, I think. I ask you to support this because we need this most of all.

Supreme Soviet 15 January Session Detailed

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[Editorial Report] Moscow Central Television Second Program Network in Russian at 1937 GMT on 15

January carries the "At the USSR Supreme Soviet" program of recorded excerpts of the USSR Supreme Soviet session at the Kremlin in Moscow on 15 January.

The program begins with President Mikhail Gorbachev's speech praising outgoing Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze and proposing Aleksandr Bessmertnykh as his successor.

At 1946 GMT Chairman Lukyanov says Boris Pugo has been put forward for the post of USSR minister of internal affairs.

At 1947 GMT Yuriy Golik says his committee has examined Pugo's candidacy thoroughly. The committee's decision is to unanimously recommend Pugo for the post. Boyko asks why Pugo said it was legitimate to use troops in Lithuania. Golik says he has his own views, but is not sure that this is the most propitious moment to voice them.

At 1950 GMT Pugo makes the following statement: "Esteemed Supreme Soviet members: I understand that exercising the leadership of the internal affairs bodies, especially in the situation that has arisen, is an exceptionally responsible task. The people are waiting for civil peace and tranquillity. People want order. The population has grown tired of conflicts, clashes, and confrontation.

"The Congress of USSR People's Deputies which took place and the Supreme Soviet are concerned at how consolidation will be achieved in our home, without trampling the shoots of democracy which have not yet grown strong. These anxieties are close and understandable to me. I am a firm and convinced supporter of a renewed Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. My attitude to the sovereignty which has been proclaimed by the republics is one of complete respect and understanding. At the same time, I assume that in our state a purposeful and sensible unity of internal affairs systems and bodies must be ensured.

"However, the functions between the Union ministry and the republican ones must be precisely demarcated so as for a broad decentralization and the necessary centralization to be combined in an optimum way. The Union ministry is called upon to fulfill those functions which will be delegated to it by the Union republics. The Union treaty must be the basis for such a decision. The republics must possess broad powers on law enforcement activity. They and only they are called upon to be answerable in full for the state of public order and security, the organization of the struggle against crime in general, correcting and reeducating convicts and other questions.

"A number of important functions can and must be part of the sphere of joint activity, of the all-Union and republican Internal Affairs Ministry bodies. Evidently, this will be the struggle against organized crime, terrorism, the drug business, currency, and other kinds of the most dangerous crimes. Crime knows no borders; it

is extraterritorial. International experience shows that the struggle against crime unites the efforts of the law enforcement system of various countries. It is precisely this which ensures the effectiveness of the struggle against international terrorism and the drug mafia.

"Under our conditions, the division of law enforcement bodies along ethnic lines is impermissible. For a law enforcement system, there is nothing more dreadful than chauvinism, nationalism, and nationalistic separatism. That is why I am convinced of the need for internationalistic principles in the work of our law enforcement system, including of the internal affairs bodies. In addressing the Supreme Soviet, I also want to talk today about the existence of large reserves within the very Internal Affairs Ministry system. To use them, it is necessary to raise accountability and responsibility in every way. This will be steadfastly ensured.

"At the same time, a radical improvement of the material well-being of the Internal Affairs Ministry is required. In this regard, I would like to thank the Supreme Soviet for satisfying the Internal Affairs Ministry's budget requirements. The budget allocations approved by you recently will make it possible to undertake further measures to improve the provision of material for the Internal Affairs Ministry bodies.

"I would, however, like to express my conviction that the staff members of the internal affairs bodies are still very poorly protected in legal and social terms. I request this protection be strengthened by legislation. For staff members to perform bolder, more confident, and professionally competent work, to ensure legality and to defend citizens' rights and interests, there is an imperative need for this protection. I would be wrong to charge only the law enforcement system with ensuring civil peace and tranquillity in our society. It is a substantial part of such a common problem as the country's security. All political organizations and social institutes are called upon to ensure the resolution of this task.

"Legal nihilism, a poor appreciation of legal matters, and the war of laws must give way to a new, truly law-governed order. The creation of such an atmosphere in the center and in the regions is unthinkable without the active support of the deputies' corps. I hope for such support on the part of the USSR's people's deputies in the event of their agreeing to approve my candidacy."

At 1955 GMT the announcer says that deputies had an opportunity to ask questions and express their views on the proposed candidacy and then introduces "extracts from the discussion:"

An unidentified deputy asks: "I have two questions, if I may: the current law enforcement bodies essentially have no legal instruments for fighting violations of the law by the authorities. We need an urgent law, especially during this transfer period, a law on fighting corruption. What is your position and what would you propose in this respect?"

Pugo replies: "Corruption is one of the greatest evils we have. I think we need a law on this issue.

"[Unidentified deputy] As soon as possible.

"[Pugo] As soon as possible."

The unidentified deputy continues: "At present, one of the most critical situations in the Internal Affairs Ministry [MVD] is the experiences of the investigators, who are literally snowed under with cases, and, in effect, each investigator is handling 50-60 cases. In fact, they are not able to deal with all of them. Here, crime bounces back, because they deal with the ones that are red hot, as they say. What would you propose here? How will this be reformed?"

Pugo responds: "Indeed, the way you describe this is absolutely correct. The MVD investigators are overloaded, sometimes including, well, disproportionate issues. There are issues of major crimes. These alternate with ones that could be resolved more quickly or, perhaps I should say, in a simpler way. Consequently, we simply need to prepare additional acts to enable us to pursue simpler cases as other countries do."

Another deputy asks: "I have two questions: Would you agree that the case of Lithuania should be examined by an independent commission of experts of the United Nations Organization, since there has been enough bloodshed? Question two: Can you guarantee that no blood will be spilled in Riga today and that the Armed Forces will not do the same as they did in Lithuania?"

Pugo answers: "First, I think we should sort out what happened in Lithuania ourselves. For this purpose, we have the prosecutor's office; for this purpose, a representative commission of the Council of the Federation was sent there. Before we come out with further proposals, I think we should really hear the comrades on their return from Lithuania, and consider their proposals, and proceed from their conclusions. That's one.

"Two: This is simply going to be a reiteration, but I should probably reiterate this again, that any further conflicts can and should be prevented not only by the internal affairs bodies and not only by the Army. The bodies of power should be participating in the most active way in this. The bodies of power should do everything dependent on them to consolidate forces, so that in their work they take into consideration the whole of that great spectrum of the populations' views which exist today."

Deputy Kasyan from Novorossiysk asks two questions. His first question concerns whether equipment being cut by the Armed Forces could not be transferred to the MVD rather than being sold at auction or by cooperatives abroad. Kasyan's second question is whether military officers being retired from active duty could not be trained to become highly qualified militia specialists.

Pugo replies: "I see your questions as proposals. As far as the first part is concerned, the current issue of setting up

a special fund is being solved, which would accumulate resources confiscated as a result of conducted operations.

"As far as the second question is concerned, you are right there, too. Comrades, I would like to use this platform for the following: my thoughts interact with the questions that were asked by the deputy. A very important law, from my point of view, has been adopted on, let's say, opening the investigation to the defense at an early stage. That, indeed, is a law which corresponds to the humane principles according to which our state is now developing. But comrades, in adopting laws like that, you also have to think about the other side. These civilized countries, to which a great many deputies referred when this law was being passed, have available to them very powerful equipment, a great many resources which today our country's investigative bodies do not have. The law was adopted, but now we are in a very difficult position to prove the criminal acts committed by criminals. Consequently, I just wanted to ask the members of the Supreme Soviet that when any laws concerning law-enforcement activities are adopted that the other part should also be necessarily considered. You cannot adopt one law which does away with something. At the same time, you have to equip us with something else, you have to allocate financial resources which today, regretfully, we don't have enough."

At 2001 GMT Procurator General Trubin speaks: "Questions concerning the events that took place in Lithuania have persistently been put to Boris Karlovich [Pugo] here and demands for some precise information have been voiced. I think it should be clear to everyone that nobody can give precise data without an investigation today. Nobody has information on the number killed and on the number injured—those who were injured in the events. Information is contradictory. I have asked to speak for the following reason. A group of representatives of the USSR Procuracy, numbering seven people, is in Lithuania. A group of military investigators from the military procuracy is also there, but the activity of these investigators is being blocked by local authorities. They are practically being prevented from carrying out any investigative activity. No information is being provided for them. It is, perhaps, to someone's advantage for the truth not to be found. Now we are taking measures to find mutual understanding. I think that the Lithuanian Republic, too, is interested in finding the truth. So I would like the Supreme Soviet to be aware of the situation.

"Today, the Lithuanian Republic's Procuracy, which is subordinated to the Lithuanian Supreme Soviet, instituted criminal proceedings on the grounds of an attempted coup d'etat. Military investigators have instituted proceedings on the grounds of a crime defined as exceeding power when using arms. The Lithuanian SSR Procuracy, which is subordinated to the USSR Procuracy, has instituted criminal proceedings on the grounds of mass disorders. The situation is as follows: The

Lithuanian Republican Procuracy has instituted proceedings in accordance with the criminal code, in accordance with an article of the criminal code which has been deemed invalid but, nevertheless, proceedings have been instituted in accordance with this article. The Lithuanian union republic has instituted proceedings in accordance with an article of the Lithuanian SSR's criminal code which is in force but which is not recognized by local authorities.

"So this is today's situation. Our comrades have met representatives of the Federation Council who are there and there is hope that mutual understanding will be found, after all, and, perhaps, we will be able to find the truth," Trubin concludes.

Dzhanibekov supports Pugo's candidacy and praises his qualities.

Another deputy says: Let us help law and order bodies. We must have relevant laws on the militia, KGB, and so on—and yet earlier we so flippantly declined to discuss these and struck them off our agenda. Let us deal with this during the next session.

Lukyanov puts Pugo's candidacy to a vote: 315 for, 75 against, 40 abstain.

At 2007 GMT Aleksandr Dzasokhov takes the floor to speak for the International Affairs Committee on the candidacy of Aleksandr Bessmertnykh: "Esteemed members of the Supreme Soviet: The candidacy for this lofty and, in particular, responsible post of foreign minister is known to the Committee members, although Aleksandr Aleksandrovich arrived in Moscow from Washington last night. In April, in accordance with the decisions of the First Congress of People's Deputies we examined, again, the candidacies of Soviet diplomats for the posts of ambassadors extraordinary and plenipotentiary in a number of key states. Our Committee thoroughly examined at that time the candidacy of Comrade Bessmertnykh in the capacity of the ambassador of the USSR in that state. I recall his reaction. Replying to the understandable interest of people's deputies about how he assesses himself and his position during the period when, while being first deputy foreign minister he was being sent as ambassador to one country, well, his answer was, in my view, very witty and clear. He said that it was as though the first deputy chairman of the State Committee for Sports was again returning to athletics and to high jumps. Several months passed. I think that it is a short time, but Aleksandr Aleksandrovich showed and confirmed yet again his high professionalism.

"Before he ascends this rostrum here today, however, I would like, at the Supreme Soviet, to voice certain wishes. In the first place: it is a custom now that political and state figures are almost always appointed to the post of foreign minister. This time our president's choice fell on a professional. We welcome this. This is because the times now belong precisely to professional qualities. At the same time I think that the president will accept our wish that he should acquire, in full measure, another

quality, too: primarily, by familiarizing himself with the life and reality of our country. Maybe he ought to begin by visiting the region he hails from, which one Mikhail Sergeyevich spoke about today: Altay Kray.

"The second thing: those foreign policy analysts were correct when they drew attention to the fact that at certain stages of the implementation of our foreign policy Soviet-American relations developed to such a degree, for which there is an explanation on the one hand, but on the other hand they have pushed into the background the interests of our relations with other states. Today, therefore, in the run-up to the confirmation of the candidacy of the minister of foreign affairs, I would like to say that we are in favor of the priorities of developing our relations with states that are contiguous with the USSR and I want to single out particularly, in the face of the true situation that has arisen, the group of countries in Eastern Europe.

"The next thing that I would like to draw attention to is the fact that the foreign minister functions under fundamentally new conditions. We are witnesses of this because we have heard Eduard Amvrosyevich several times, not just in plenary sessions but at sittings of the International Affairs committee too. And something else: The processes of foreign policy now are so dynamic and accompanied by serious processes of transformation in the country that we a right to expect our foreign policy department, which I hope will be headed by Aleksandr Aleksandrovich Bessmertnykh, to be very keen in ensuring that the reputation of the USSR, as a great power, and its dignity and national interests will be defended in timely fashion before the diplomatic services and statesmen of foreign states.

"On behalf of the International Affairs Committee, I would like to ask the Supreme Soviet to support the president's proposal and confirm Aleksander Aleksandrovich Bessmertnykh minister of foreign affairs."

At 2014 GMT Bessmertnykh speaks: "Esteemed comrade chairman, esteemed comrades members of the Supreme Soviet: The president's decision was an unexpected one for me. However, I will say right away that on receiving this proposal I immediately felt the weight of the approaching responsibility descending on my shoulders, if this fate really comes to me after you confirm it.

"Perhaps I really am the first professional diplomat proposed for the post of USSR foreign minister. I think that this is, to a certain extent, a demand of times and I think that the diplomatic service, if the Supreme Soviet makes this decision, will give a worthy response to this challenge.

"Comrades, I would like to say that along with the feeling of gratitude to the president that this choice has been made, I feel a rather bitter taste in my mouth that this appointment follows the unusual departure from the post of foreign minister of a very popular and brilliant foreign minister, Eduard Amvrosiyevich Shevardnadze. I have worked with him over all these years, literally

from the first day he was appointed to the post of minister. I was his first deputy. I know his moods and his views. I share his approach to international affairs which is a progressive, honorable, and responsible approach.

"Nonetheless, after the departure of Eduard Amvrosiyevich, in any event, after his announcement of his departure, questions began to be asked in the world: What will the USSR foreign policy be now? Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev has just answered that question convincingly and clearly. Of course every diplomat and every minister in his post brings something personal, his own personal style into the work of diplomacy.

"Eduard Amvrosiyevich brought his particularly persona and I would say individual, perhaps even a rare, element of style into his work in diplomatic talks. All the same policy which has been conducted until now, the policy of new thinking, has always been the policy of the state, of the president. It has always been the product of collective labor, of many very responsible departments.

"I think that the policy which has been conducted over the past five years, the policy of new thinking, a policy which has opened up the horizons for our country, a policy which has turned our power into a friendly power for the whole rest of the world, which arouses great feelings of goodwill everywhere and all over, a policy which has virtually led to the world's becoming friendly toward us, a world which feels our problems and tries to help with them. This policy most closely and fully reflects the national interests of our power. It reflects the very deepest interests of our society and people.

"I think that to the question of what the policy will be like in the future there can be no other answer: The policy of new thinking, the new constructive policy, will be continued, maintained, and developed.

"In the West they are now talking about our country, thrust into the abyss of internal complexities and big problems, being about to close in on itself. They say that it will be more passive in international affairs and will have less interest in the problems that exist in different parts of the planet. This is absolutely not the case. Foreign policy and diplomacy will remain dynamic and I think that they will work with increasing vigor to defend our country's national and state interests.

"Replying to the question, rather the proposal, from Aleksandr Sergeyevich Dzasokhov, I hope that our diplomacy, although it works mainly abroad, has never become cut off and is not becoming cut off from the internal problems of our state. I think that, yes, perhaps we lack certain knowledge of details of the internal economic and perhaps internal political developments in the country. I would however like to say straight out that when working abroad one can at times perhaps sense more acutely what is happening at home and perhaps at times even more sensitively.

"I think that in this sense our diplomacy will remain sensitive to all moods in society. It will develop dialogue

not just with departments which participate directly in working out the foreign policy course but naturally also with the Supreme Soviet, with all of its committees and also with parties and movements which are capable of bringing something sensible and new to working out a foreign policy course that can be used in the foreign policy service of the Soviet Union.

"I think, comrades, that it is particularly important now for us to bear in mind that an increasing intertwining of foreign political and internal political processes is taking place. To be frank, I think that what will have the most effect on the opportunity for foreign policy to be successful or less successful is what is happening in our country. The latest events, in particular those in the Baltic republics, will inevitably affect our policy. In working out ways of preventing and avoiding things of this kind we must therefore have in mind the foreign policy aspect of such events.

"We must have one standard—a standard which applies to foreign policy and to domestic policy—for resolving things of this kind, although, of course, it is impossible for international law and internal law to coincide fully. Nevertheless, on the basic principles we must follow one and the same line: A person is a person, and our new policy must defend his interests.

"I would like to thank you for the opportunity to stand here before you. I am ready to answer questions if there are any and I would like to say that I am fully dedicated and devoted to the policy which has been implemented and which is being implemented by our president and by our country in recent times because I believe that only this policy is deeply in keeping with the most vital interests of our power. Thank you."

Bessmertnykh then answers questions from the floor. An unidentified deputy asks: "We have condemned Iraq for its aggression in Kuwait and it is right for us to have done so. But at the same time, at the same time, we have, along with the Western countries at the United Nations, sanctioned the very same aggression by the United States against Iraq. The war will evidently start today. Is it not a mistake that we have allowed this?"

Bessmertnykh responds: "I think that complications may arise simply due to a confusion of concepts. The United Nations and the Security Council which you have in mind did not approve of anyone's aggression against any country whatever. It is simply that the 11 resolutions adopted by the UN Security Council are aimed at stopping the Iraqi aggression against Kuwait. This did not happen. After that the United Nations decided to adopt all the necessary measures to defend a small people and a small state against the larger neighbor which invaded its territory. I think that in this case we can not approach this issue from a position of compromise. There are things which make compromises absolutely impossible, when what is at stake are issues of principle in politics. I think that here we have acted absolutely honestly and to a certain extent we have

protected the future of a small state, and large ones too, against situations of this kind."

Deputy Semukha asks: "In connection with the events taking place in the Soviet Baltic republics, especially in Vilnius, some countries issued statements and intimidation aimed at the Soviet Union. In particular, the U.S. Senate adopted a resolution condemning the Soviet aggression in the Baltic republics. Matlock, the U.S. ambassador to the USSR, made a very sharp speech. Other speeches were made too. My question is this: Does this not constitute interference by other states in our country's internal affairs? What will the Foreign Ministry's reaction and our government's reply to these be?"

Bessmertnykh answers: "I have already said that certain internal affairs can simply objectively influence the foreign policy. Attempts to interfere in these internal affairs, however, will, evidently, be made.

"I want to tell you that the Soviet Government has carried out appropriate explanatory work on the subject with the governments of the leading powers. Specifically, I was instructed in Washington to discuss this matter with U.S. statesmen. Moreover, the line was very precise and clear. The question of situations arising in our Union will be settled by the union together with the republics on a fair basis. Any attempts to use the processes taking place in our country against the Soviet Union or against the international situation that has taken shape in recent times undoubtedly give rise only to regret.

"I think it is now extremely important for statesmen, especially those of the leading powers, to be balanced, to conduct a very well-weighed policy toward what is taking place in our country as in other countries, because, by overdoing their reaction, primarily through considerations of their own domestic political interests, they may cause damage to Soviet-U.S. relations, if it is a matter of the U.S. Government. It may cause a certain amount of damage to our relations with other countries too. We are against that. We want relations to remain at the former level and to continue to develop on the same high level. So, clumsy actions by statesmen and parliaments in various countries may cause damage that we would all regret later.

"I would like to take advantage of my presence at this rostrum to ask our colleagues in other countries to be attentive to what is taking place in our country and to what is taking place in their own countries, and to proceed from the priority, predominant interests that affect the preservation of international peace and security above all else."

Another unidentified deputy then asks: "You know that some 100 people, our citizens, are prisoners of war. I have a question in connection with this. Do you have an idea for getting our POW's released? If so, what in your view are its chances of being successful?"

Bessmertnykh replies: "I would like to say that previously, as deputy minister, I did not deal with Afghanistan. It was, however, within my remit. The question of getting our POW's released, of searching for ways to rescue these people, is always within our sights and it is one of the active zones of our activity. Absolutely all possible ways have been brought into play. Let me tell you outright that both the government and international organizations and contacts directly with the opposition, the mujahidin, contacts with leaders of even individual field formations, commanders in Afghanistan—everything possible we can do was and is being done. As you know, successes exist, albeit small. Some people have already been released.

"The situation will, however, probably resolve itself once and for all when we have closely approached a political settlement in Afghanistan. In this respect our policy is doing a great deal. We are already beginning to seriously unblock this situation. The issue of POW's is the most emotive and humanitarian part of our approach to Afghanistan. When we search for a political settlement, we reckon that apart from it ensuring a peaceful zone, as it were, in the south of our country, it will help us to return all the sons of our motherland who have found themselves in this calamitous situation," Bessmertnykh concludes.

The announcer says all speakers supported Bessmertnykh's candidacy, and the results of the vote: 421 deputies for, three against, 10 abstained.

The employment law was discussed and passed. Deputy Leonchev then appeals to workers throughout the country. He says: We will not get richer if we fail to work better. Let us not appeal to others to stage strikes. These will make things even worse. We are against involving labor collectives in destabilizing political processes. Refrain from strikes, Leonchev concludes,

Deputy Shamikhin says it is difficult to seek a compromise with those who are now in charge in the Baltic republics. He criticized Deputy Boyars who is the author of the citizenship law; criticizes price increases; recalls demands of the National Salvation Council; criticizes Yeltsin—he does not care for the Russians, he betrays their interests. National consensus government must be set up in Lithuania.

At 2040 GMT Gorbachev criticizes Yeltsin and agrees with deputies who say Yeltsin violated the USSR Constitution.

At 2059 GMT Nishanov suggests that recommendations of legislative commissions should be acted upon. If this had been the case earlier, there would have been no tragic consequences. We support deputies' proposal to send a commission to Latvia. Let Denisov, Drutse, Martyrosyan, and Shitko go there.

At 2104 GMT the program ends.

Gorbachev Nominates Bessmertnykh

LD1501231391 Moscow Central Television Second Program Network in Russian 1937 GMT 15 Jan 91

[Speech by President Mikhail Gorbachev at the USSR Supreme Soviet session in the Kremlin in Moscow on 15 January; from the "At the USSR Supreme Soviet" program—recorded]

[Text] I previously put forward the proposal to endorse Comrade Pugo as minister of internal affairs; this now requires agreement, in accordance with the amendments to the constitution. The appropriate committees have examined this matter, they have drawn their conclusions. I beg the committees to report on their thoughts and examine this matter, too.

Further, as you know, Comrade Eduard Amvrosiyevich Shevardnadze, foreign minister, speaking not here but at the congress, announced his resignation. During the subsequent weeks he continued to fulfill his duties. In conversations and meetings with me, Comrade Shevardnadze confirmed his urgent request for his appeal to resign to be granted. Discussing in detail all aspects of this situation, and hearing the pros and cons, reasoning with Comrade Shevardnadze—I do indeed have this opportunity, since he and I are old friends and comrades, and that is no mere phrase—I came to the conclusion that I should not exercise my presidential rights and compel him against his will to continue his duties. That is the first thing.

Second, I want nevertheless to say that now, when a decision will be made on releasing and granting the resignation of Comrade Shevardnadze—he has appealed for this—I want to say with all frankness that in the final analysis that is his position, it is his right to use his constitutional rights and his civil rights to raise the issue that way, including the issue of his actions, and to voice his evaluation of them. In connection with this I want only to say that in supporting his request to resign, as I now do, I want to say that Comrade Shevardnadze came here to the post of foreign minister at my invitation—and you will recall that this gave rise to quite lively questions and discussions, generally speaking, both here at home, and first and foremost in our country's international circles, in diplomatic and political circles, and throughout the world. It was regarded as something incomprehensible.

Nevertheless, now that this time has come to an end I can say that I personally consider that Comrade Shevardnadze justified my hopes and made an enormous contribution to the enormous work connected with turning about our foreign policy, which exerted an influence not only on the country and on its internal processes, but first and foremost it exerted its constructive influence on the whole international situation and on changing the climate in the country.

Of course, I think that now when one reads the press, sometimes the naiveness—well I think that such naivete

is understandable. Here they want to reap a harvest of some kind on this matter so to speak, to gather in the fruits which it is to someone's advantage to possess, and they even do things which in my view also offend the dignity of Comrade Shevardnadze himself. Or a point is even reached when we have in evidence, in this case, things to which we have bid farewell, some kind of adulation, almost the second coming of Christ in the person of Minister Shevardnadze. No, comrades, from the first day and until today I know how foreign policy is being made. This is enormous work of enormous collectives, of the whole, of all most important state institutions, of all. Each decision and proposal of a fundamental or operative nature or relating to promoting some concept is backed by the work of a huge army of diplomats, scientists, politicians and specialists. It is preceded by extensive consultations, and one should not simplify and display naivete. We do not ever need that.

We are departing from that view that as soon as the tsar comes, he will solve everything. This is all rubbish. We understood that long ago; we have bid farewell to that. Here, such collectives, such... [changes thought] This collective needs to employ the opinions of experts, scientists, and specialists, of all, and we hold these consultations to safeguard ourselves. Therefore, everything should be regarded in this way.

Nevertheless, I repeat that he was a man in the right place, in the best, in the loftiest idea of the right place. So this does not permit me, either... without any, so to speak, I would like to say directly here because in this respect there already are, too... [changes thought] Some people want to cast suspicion on his work, too, and simultaneously, to cast suspicion on everything that has been attained in this field of our state activity. So I also regard it as my duty as president here to express words of gratitude to Comrade Shevardnadze for his selfless work, his intellectual, constructive, and creative work in this lofty post of state. That is the first thing.

Second, whom do I propose as minister of foreign affairs? I propose for this post, this important post in our state, Aleksandr Aleksandrovich Bessmertnykh. Comrade Bessmertnykh is present here. I invited him, and he flew in last night, yesterday. Today he is the USSR ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to the United States. Let me introduce him, since we are working in such a regime, and I would like to speak a little about him. First, some biographic data: He was born in the town of Biysk, Altay Kray, in 1933, Russian. He has higher education; he is a specialist in international relations, candidate of juridical sciences, graduated from the Moscow State Institute for International Relations. After that, since 1957, after graduating from the institute, he has done diplomatic work. He has passed through everything, so to speak, from an expert and senior expert of the Press Department of the Foreign Ministry to all the secretarial posts, the second and the first secretary of embassy. All in all, he worked for 11 years in the United States, including as deputy ambassador. Here he worked and headed a department at the

Foreign Ministry and then worked as deputy minister, first deputy minister of foreign affairs. This took place, so to speak, in our time, in a new era, as it were. He was nominated by me and Comrade Shevardnadze; a participant in the preparation of all the major, a real participant in all the major talks which have been held over this time. A great professional, a person of large, broad views, high culture, and modesty. And so I personally regard this person with great respect and hope that here we have an amalgam, so to speak, both of professionalism and the qualities of high responsibility. I can personally vouch for this, inasmuch as Comrade Bessmertnykh was always nearby through all the ups and downs.

I am sure. In my capacity as president I have sent him for major talks with presidents on my instructions when the situation demanded it and so on. So I ask you to support my proposal.

Bessmertnykh Answers Questions

*LD1601023191 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian
1620 GMT 16 Jan 91*

[Remarks by Aleksandr Aleksandrovich Bessmertnykh, candidate for the post of USSR foreign minister, at the USSR Supreme Soviet session in the Kremlin on 15 January, including an exchange with unidentified Supreme Soviet deputy—recorded]

[Text] [Bessmertnykh] When we speak about the United States we must bear in mind the multiplicity of the sources of strength and influence in that country. If one speaks about the U.S. Administration, then it recently has adopted a precise and clear position. It stressed the historical aspect of its attitude to the Baltic region, which consists of their not recognizing, and they have never recognized, the inclusion of these republics in the Soviet Union. That really has been the policy and line of the United States. This historical part of their approach to the republics is maintained even now, however. I would say that, displaying common sense, perhaps even enlightened common sense, the Administration has followed and still follows, a well-considered approach to these events. The United States is very well aware that the USSR is a very important element in the world strategic balance and therefore it is very attentive to this problem.

At the same time, Congress, the press and certain segments of public opinion are reacting more sharply to what is happening in our country. For three days in a row today is the fourth day, very bitter anti-Soviet demonstrations have been held outside the embassy which I have just left. Therefore, the country, itself, the United States, cannot have one single opinion on such a major question. Everything will depend, I believe, on how correctly we resolve our own affairs. The decision should be just. If it is just then the world will understand it.

[Deputy] You are paying a lot of attention to the development of the economy today.

[Bessmertnykh] Indeed, diplomacy is now developing very strongly in that direction. I can tell you directly that whereas 80 percent of our work was devoted to seeking solutions to military-strategic tasks, these remain, of course, the most important ones on the agenda. At the same time, we now devote considerably more time to economic problems. What do these problems consist of, from the diplomatic point of view? First of all a calculation, an analysis of our internal economy by research centres of world importance, by international organizations and institutions, an analysis of specific economic proposals which come from major, and other, businesses to the USSR, analyses of our current situation made by more or less objective analysts abroad, proposals to the Soviet Government on the subject of various specific deals which we would consider as advantageous to our national economy, and prompting about scientific-technical discoveries which take place in various states, in particular in the United States. We regularly report what is happening in science, what is happening in technology and what could be used in the national economic practice of the USSR.

Thus, diplomacy is most vigorously and directly involved in resolving the national economic tasks of our state. I believe that more of this should be done, it should be done more vigorously and we are now on that path.

TASS on Bessmertnykh Questioning

LD1501122591 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1207 GMT 15 Jan 91

[Text] Moscow January 15 TASS—Soviet Ambassador to Washington Aleksandr Bessmertnykh, 57, won confirmation in parliament today as the new foreign minister after he was nominated by President Mikhail Gorbachev.

A total of 421 deputies voted to support the nomination, three opposed and ten abstained.

Answering questions by deputies about the situation in the Gulf, Bessmertnykh said the Soviet Union opposed any aggression in principle, "especially now that the 'cold war' is ending".

If the Soviet Union supported aggression in these conditions even formally, "we could create a precedent, which we could regret later". "The Soviet state's course here is pure, honest and absolutely principled," Bessmertnykh said.

He noted the impossibility of a compromise on the issue. "There are some principal political issues, when compromises are absolutely impossible," Bessmertnykh said. He said Soviet Armed Forces would not take part in military actions against Iraq.

Speaking about events in Lithuania and foreign reaction to them, Bessmertnykh said "problems in our Union will be resolved by the Union together with republics on a just basis". He said he regretted attempts "to use processes in the Soviet Union against it". "State figures,

especially in leading countries, should now pursue a well-weighed policy," he said.

Bessmertnykh said the international community's reaction "will depend on how we manage with our own problems". "The decision should be just. If it is just, the world will understand it," he said, noting that "we will resolve our problems independently of how somebody reacts to them".

Appeal To Refrain From Strikes

LD1501201891 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1900 GMT 15 Jan 91

[Appeal read by USSR People's Deputy Leonchev at the 15 January evening sitting of the USSR Supreme Soviet in the Kremlin in Moscow—recorded]

[Text] Dear comrades, we all know well that the prosperity of the Soviet people depends fully and entirely on the quantity and quality of the labor of each one of us. Nobody is creating or will create an abundance of products and goods for us unless we ourselves work well. Success in reviving the economy, filling empty shelves in the shops, and really raising the living standards of our people lies in recognizing this simple truth about life.

In certain political circles in our country, in the past few days, calls have been made to hold a political strike in the country. The processes that are taking place in some of our republics should be resolved at the level of state bodies in accordance with the laws of our country and not as the result of the violation of the work regime of labor collectives. This will just further tighten the knot of economic problems in our society, which will lead to a worsening of the lives of our people and tension in public relations. We resolutely come out against involving work collectives in destabilizing the political process, and against anti-constitutional decisions of state and public bodies for resolving principles, common to all mankind, in the life of our peoples. No kind of argument can serve as justification if people are unclothed, and hungry and if there is no light or heating in their homes.

In this complicated period for the country, we call on all the working people to refrain from the strikes to which the politicians are calling us. Only work can lighten the worthy life of our people.

Legislation on Employment Approved

LD1501150191 Moscow TASS in English 1438 GMT 15 Jan 91

[By TASS legislative correspondent Vladimir Isachenkov]

[Text] Moscow January 15 TASS—The Soviet parliament today approved new Soviet legislation on employment. According to parliament chairman Anatoliy Lukyanov, this regulatory enactment is to "ensure social protection of Soviet citizens during the transition to a market economy".

Nikolay Gritsenko, chairman of the parliamentary Commission of Labour, Prices and Social Policy, said that in accordance with the new law the state guarantees all Soviet citizens "regardless of race, sex, religion, age, political convictions, nationality and social status" equal opportunities for exercising their right to work.

Gritsenko said that the need to promulgate the fundamentals was conditioned by the development of the labour market in the country. The amount of labour on offer can reach 23 million people this year. An estimated 12.7 million of these will find employment on their own in an open labour market. Nearly ten million will be helped by the employment service after retraining, and 5.3 million will receive unemployment benefits.

The fundamentals of legislation on employment create conditions for full and productive employment and contain a mechanism to protect citizens if they lose employment.

"The conceptual approach of the fundamentals proceeds from the priority of active measures to ensure employment," Gritsenko stressed.

The fundamentals envisage the creation of a national employment service in the country. Its functions will include training and retraining of people out of work, organising social work and coordinating the payment of unemployment benefit.

A national, republican and local funds of assistance to employment are to be set up, which will operate at the expense of deductions from profits derived by enterprises.

The fundamentals of Soviet legislation on employment conform to international conventions and recommendations by the International Labour Organisation (ILO) and correspond to new social and economic conditions in the country. They also conform to the guidelines for stabilising the national economy and moving to a market.

Pugo Refuses To Identify Salvation Committee

*LD1501105191 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian
0900 GMT 15 Jan 91*

[Aleksandr Ruvinskiy report from the USSR Supreme Soviet session in the Kremlin in Moscow on 15 January]

[Summary] According to the timetable today is the penultimate day for the Supreme Soviet session, but it may be extended. Deputies made brief statements on various subjects at the opening.

"Deputy Boyars made a protest against what he believes to be the tendentious coverage of events in Lithuania and of the very work of the Supreme Soviet yesterday on the events in Lithuania on television. He was supported by Deputy Igityan, who noted the television's lack of objectivity and who also stated that since Comrade Kravchenko arrived at the television we have been losing

glasnost." Deputy Safin called for a discussion of the planned two-hour strike on 16 January.

Deputies then discussed items on the agenda. Pugo, nominated for minister of internal affairs, replied to a question that at present he does not have a precise figure for the number of those killed in Lithuania. This was confirmed by General Procurator Trubin. "Comrade Pugo was also asked to name the persons at the head of the National Salvation Committee in Lithuania. Incidentally, let me remind you that yesterday a large group of people's deputies distributed an official statement here demanding the immediate arrest of the putschists. Comrade Pugo answered: I know who they are, but I will not give their names." Pugo was approved as minister of internal affairs.

The nomination of Bessmertnykh as foreign minister was discussed. He has just spoken and deputies are asking him questions. A break has been announced and questions will continue afterward.

Political & Social

President Gorbachev Meets With Bessmertnykh

*LD1601103191 Moscow TASS International Service
in Russian 0940 GMT 16 Jan 91*

[By TASS correspondent Andrey Orlov]

[Text] Moscow, 16 Jan (TASS)—A meeting between USSR President Mikhail Gorbachev and USSR Foreign Minister Aleksandr Bessmertnykh, recently confirmed by the USSR Supreme Soviet, has begun in the USSR Foreign Ministry.

This was reported to a TASS correspondent in the offices of the USSR president.

"In essence, what is involved is the presentation of the new minister to the staffers of the Foreign Ministry", the offices of the USSR president clarified. At the same time it is expected that the USSR foreign policy issues at the new stage will be touched upon at the meeting in the Foreign Ministry.

Speaking yesterday in the Union parliament, Aleksandr Bessmertnykh expressed the view that the policy of new thinking that has been pursued over the course of the past five years, "most fully reflecting the interests of our power...will be continued and developed." Touching upon events in Lithuania, Aleksandr Bessmertnykh stated that they will "inevitably have an effect on our policy." "For this reason, we have to work out ways of preventing and avoiding events of this kind, bearing in mind their foreign policy aspect also."

Continuity in Foreign Policy Seen

LD1501180191 Moscow World Service
in English 1510 GMT 15 Jan 91

[Text] So now we know who is going to replace resigned Eduard Shevardnadze as the Soviet foreign minister. It's Aleksandr Bessmertnykh, 58, a professional diplomat. His previous post was that of the Soviet ambassador in the United States. What interests the public now is whether there'll be continuity in the Soviet foreign policy. Here's the opinion of Mikhail Mayorov:

The new minister is a quite well-known person in diplomatic circles, firstly in the United States where he worked for 11 years in different capacities. He took part in the most important talks conducted by the Soviet leadership in the years of perestroika. Apparently, Mikhail Gorbachev took all these facts into account when he chose the follower to Eduard Shevardnadze. But was the president correct in his choice, and was it right for the MPs to agree with the President's choice?

Mikhail Gorbachev has experience in choosing leading officials, for the Foreign Ministry in particular. When Eduard Shevardnadze was appointed foreign minister, before Aleksandr Bessmertnykh, not everyone was sure that he was the best man for the post. However, the past few years of intensive international contacts proved that Eduard Shevardnadze wasn't simply a diplomat but an innovative diplomat. A qualitatively new style developed at the Soviet Foreign Ministry largely promoting a [words indistinct] atmosphere in international relations in East-West cooperation.

In Soviet diplomatic circles Aleksandr Bessmertnykh is considered a supporter of the line of Eduard Shevardnadze. MPs could hear that when the candidate minister spoke on 15 January. Aleksandr Bessmertnykh won almost unanimous support. Much depends on a concrete person, but foreign policy is quite a complex and many-sided matter to be handled by just one person, especially now that burning problems linked with the settlement of regional problems have to be solved and new prospects drafted in international partnerships. This requires the efforts of many people, from president to scholars and public figures representing the citizens' diplomacy. The continuity in the Soviet foreign policy can be guaranteed not only by the view of the new minister but collective decision-making on the aims and tasks in the international arena.

Pavlov Holds News Conference 15 Jan

PM1601110591 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
16 Jan 91 First Edition p 1

[Report by Aleksandr Nikitin: "'Rules of New Game?'"]

[Text] Yesterday hundreds of correspondents made their way through the Moscow snow to the USSR Foreign Ministry press center. And the morning snow seemed to instill new thoughts. What would USSR Prime Minister Valentin Sergeyevich Pavlov, approved by parliament

the day before, and his deputies, reply to our questions? How would they take us aback and how would they please us?

My first question to Valentin Sergeyevich was about the status of the new government structure in the management of the country. To be precise, how will the functions of the Cabinet of Ministers differ in principle from those of the former USSR Council of Ministers?

"It is the element of presidential rule," V.S. Pavlov replied. "Our Cabinet will not have legislative functions. We were created as an executive power, which we must implement more specifically and resolve urgent questions more promptly."

"In other words, the demand for the country's transition to presidential rule has given rise to the emergence of the Cabinet of Ministers?"

"Yes. Otherwise we would have had two centers of power in the country. As for the entire range of functions of the Cabinet of Ministers, they have not yet been determined. They will be prompted by the details of our rapidly flowing days or to be more precise by the law on the Cabinet of Ministers that is to be elaborated and adopted. Incidentally, it will, I think, help to eliminate many management structures operating in a parallel manner. One thing only is clear: We shall have many complex and urgent affairs."

"What ruling have you managed to make yesterday or today, Valentin Sergeyevich?" a colleague from the weekly "Soyuz" asked.

"None," was the reply.

"What will you do in, for instance, the next 100 days?"

"I shall study the situation. Figuratively speaking, I shall elaborate the rules of a new game... That means doing everything on time, in a synchronized manner. Let's take the problem of market relations. So far the center has been dilatory in developing them and some nationwide resources have fallen into 'unclean hands.' It is not enough for everyone to vote for the market—we must realize what it is and create conditions for its civilized development. We must take a number of new decisions to create a fund for stabilizing the economy..."

Both Soviet and foreign correspondents put complex questions to V.S. Pavlov. A BBC representative asked what the government's mistakes have been in the recent past.

"We delayed the question of devaluing the ruble. This process could have been made less painful and without such losses. I believe that the disorder of money turnover in the consumer market sphere is entirely rectifiable, because it is relatively small compared with the sphere of so-called noncash accounting."

...I have known Valentin Sergeyevich Pavlov for many years. Of course, primarily in his economic incarnation,

so to speak. A few years ago, when he was still chairman of the USSR State Committee for Prices, when it already seemed that the government had taken a decision on the reform of price formation, he prepared an article for PRAVDA. Various positions were elucidated and alternatives worked through. But the reform was deferred. Yet that time was more favorable than the present.

"Your opinion, Valentin Sergeyevich?"

"It is a pity that in the past we renounced prices reform. Now, in the aggravated situation, it will be far more complex to elaborate and implement. There should be no mistakes here. We are taught this by the sorry experience of prices reform in the Baltic republics where, in my view, two mistakes were made. The difference in prices should not have been compensated for but should have been advanced. Many people live from one pay packet to the next. And psychologically they have an absolutely different view of the promise to compensate in part for low wages or pensions at the end of the month or quarter. On the other hand an advance received at the beginning for the same purpose will help make better use of their real potential. Nor is it possible to have a mechanistic approach toward determining the level of prices. It is wrong to shift onto the consumer all the faults in our production and distribution. The economists and authorities have in-depth, thoughtful work to do here..."

Of course, it was no accident that the subject of the Baltic republics, surfacing in the talk with journalists, also touched mainly on economic problems. In particular a Swedish radio correspondent was interested in how the events in Lithuania could influence aid from Western Europe. If this aid is reduced, what will the USSR do?

In answering this and similar questions, V.S. Pavlov expressed regret if some countries undertake this step. Although it is so far not great we still value this aid. We advocate the development of mutually advantageous foreign economic relations. If only because we have delayed in implementing the achievements of the scientific and technical revolution."

The prime minister stressed that the priority avenue of his cabinet's activity will be the structural perestroika of the economy, proceeding from the present requirements of scientific and technical progress: "We are now traveling the path the developed capitalist countries traveled in the mid-seventies. If the West does not help us, we will do the same only within the country we will have to pay a higher price."

However, it must not be forgotten that our country is the richest in Europe. In any event we have every grounds for continuing headway along the path of radical reforms. Hope for the future should not abandon us...

USSR First Deputy Prime Ministers V.Kh. Doguzhiyev and V.M. Velichko also took part in the press conference.

New Cabinet Appointments Examined

LD1501173891 Moscow World Service in English
 1210 GMT 15 Jan 91

[Vitaly Gurov commentary]

[Text] These are the first days in the life of the new Soviet cabinet. On Monday, the national parliament approved the appointment of 53-year-old Valentin Pavlov to the post of prime minister and agreed with the nomination of four other top officials by the president. Vitaliy Gurov makes these comments.

For the first time, this country will have a cabinet of ministers, replacing the customary Council of Ministers. I don't think this is just a change of name. The process of forming strong presidential power in the Soviet Union actually started on 14 January this year and undoubtedly the parliamentary decisions should be viewed as the first step on this road. Two months ago, president Gorbachev spoke for the first time in parliament about the need to form a new cabinet. It was then that the president said that new persons with initiative and new ideas should be included in the cabinet. Now, we are learning the names of those who will be members of the top executive body in the country. Earlier, the president issued decrees making certain changes in the team of ministers, but they can hardly be called decisive.

The appointment of Valentin Pavlov, who played a key role in the old government as finance minister, can mean a more effective policy that will help the country overcome the crisis. One cannot be absolutely sure about that now, of course. It is clear that the country's economy is in a very bad state and any politician who decides to assume responsibility for overcoming the crisis should be respected.

Now, how will the new cabinet function? Time will tell and probably in the very near future.

When the president presented Valentin Pavlov on Monday he said the finance minister had stressed many times that the country was moving too slowly, wasting time, while negative processes were gaining momentum and he called for resolute actions. If we take these words of Valentin Pavlov as an expression of his stand, one can expect that he will act resolutely and the road to stabilization will be found at the expense of probably unpopular and painful measures. In the present circumstances, the Soviet leaders don't have the time to engage in debates or experiments. Decisions must be clear and exact.

Mikhail Gorbachev said that now he is fully responsible for the actions of the cabinet. The president will bear the entire responsibility and make the final decisions. The cabinet will not be absolutely free in its actions, but I would not want to speak of that on the first day of the life in the new cabinet. I hope that these people will find chances to at least partially reduce social tension in the country.

New USSR General Prosecutor Interviewed

PM1501140191 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
10 Jan 91 Union Edition p 3

[Interview with USSR General Prosecutor N.S. Trubin by correspondent Valeriy Rudnev; place and date not given; first two paragraphs are introduction: "USSR General Prosecutor"]

[Text] At the suggestion of the country's president, Nikolay Semenovich Trubin has been appointed the new USSR general prosecutor. He is 59 years of age. He has worked in Prosecutor's Office organs for 37 of these years. He has climbed all the rungs of the official ladder: He was assistant prosecutor, investigator, rayon prosecutor, and kray prosecutor's office investigation department chief, he was USSR General Prosecutor R. Rudenko's assistant and deputy prosecutor of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR]. In May 1990 he became RSFSR prosecutor. He is a member of the CPSU and candidate of juridical sciences.

After N. Trubin had been confirmed in his new post at the Fourth Congress of USSR People's Deputies, he was interviewed by an IZVESTIYA correspondent.

[Rudnev] Nikolay Semenovich, after A. Sukharev resigned, IZVESTIYA attempted a forecast: Who will be appointed to the post of USSR general prosecutor? The article named Deputy General Prosecutor V. Kravtsev, parliamentary committee chairman Yu. Golik, USSR Justice Minister V. Yakovlev... And you. But they did not dare publish the forecast: It was an extremely delicate matter...

[Trubin] It is of course up to the newspaper whether it prints or not. But you were very accurate in the candidates you proposed for the post of general prosecutor. As you can see, even the top state officials are now elected on a competitive basis.

[Rudnev] Nevertheless, your appointment was shrouded in secrecy. Back in November last year, following A. Sukharev's resignation, you were named as the likeliest candidate for the post of USSR general prosecutor. But on 2 December you gave your consent to the Russian parliament and the deputies confirmed your status as the republic's prosecutor... Yet literally a few days later it became known that the country's president had nonetheless chosen you and you had accepted. A mysterious tale, you will agree. Perhaps you could shed some light on your appointment?

[Trubin] There is no secret. Last October, the president invited me to the Kremlin. We talked about the future of prosecutor's oversight in the country. Actually, I did most of the talking, with the president listening and taking notes.

At the top of my program I placed the adoption of urgent measures to transform links between union and republican prosecutor's offices. Not the abandonment of the unified system of prosecutor's oversight in the country,

but the establishment of more flexible, mobile links that can make both union and republican legislation effective. Second came a review of the functions of the Prosecutor's Office and definition of its new tasks in the light of current realities. I made it clear to the president that the Prosecutor's Office needs a jolly good shake-up to get rid of all the tinsel and frivolous sequins. Third—legal guarantees are needed of prosecutors' independence from departmental influence, and secure legal levers are needed to ensure absolute implementation of the prosecutor's decisions.

[Rudnev] Did the president accept your program immediately?

[Trubin] We parted, it seemed to me, entirely satisfied with the conversation. But we gave one another no promises. After all, there were other candidates for the post of USSR general prosecutor. Therefore, the president had to choose and I had to await his decision. October passed, November was coming to an end... Nothing from the president. It was understandable: He is up to his ears in problems these days. But the republican parliament was awaiting my reply. I thought it over and agreed to remain RSFSR prosecutor. On 2 December the Russian parliament confirmed my status. A few days later, on 6 December, Mikhail Sergeyevich phoned me at home and offered me the post of general prosecutor.

To be honest, I felt a bit awkward about it. On the one hand, the RSFSR people's deputies were relying on me; on the other hand, I could not refuse the country's president. But Mikhail Sergeyevich quickly banished my doubts, saying that he had made his decision after consultations with Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin, and that the Russian parliament would take the correct view of my new appointment. So I accepted.

[Rudnev] Your plan is already beginning to operate: The Fourth Congress of USSR People's Deputies adopted an amendment to the Constitution, whereby the republics' parliaments will now independently appoint their own prosecutors and demand that they report back on their activities. But are you not afraid that you are losing your influence on republican prosecutors? Are you not afraid that you will have not one rule of law, but 15, as many as there are republics?

[Trubin] Being afraid means doing nothing. So the former general prosecutor protected, as far as he was able, the old and already useless setup involving strict centralization and the accountability of Prosecutor's Office workers to a higher authority. Meanwhile, social and political processes were developing swiftly in the provinces. The USSR Prosecutor's Office was just as swiftly falling behind the times, lagging behind events, with no real means of influencing them. Republican prosecutors had started to act independently, at their own risk. There was effectively no coordination between them. It even got to the point where there were parallel

Prosecutor's Office structures, as in Lithuania and Latvia. National prosecutor's oversight was effectively paralyzed.

We were late amending the Constitution. At least six months too late! And the USSR Prosecutor's Office made its "contribution" to the social tension that arose at the end of the year.

You ask: Am I not afraid of losing the means of influencing republican prosecutors? No, I am not. Because I want to see them as colleagues and fellow fighters in the struggle for the establishment of the rule of law in the country, rather than subordinates. The politicians could be mistaken about the results of the "war of laws." To the prosecutors, wherever they work and whatever posts they occupy, it is perfectly clear: Legal anarchy is disastrous for everyone. There would be no winners in that war. If republican prosecutors choose not to demand the implementation of a union law on their territory or they are compelled to do so, the general prosecutor will not be able to uphold republican rights at the union level either. The arithmetic is simple.

[Rudnev] You propose a "shake-up" of the Prosecutor's Office. What does that mean?

[Trubin] Rid it of functions that are not inherently those of a Prosecutor's Office, as is required by the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference resolution "On Legal Reform." Only then would it be able to perform its function in society and only then would people feel we were doing our stuff.

At the moment we are doing everyone's job: economic and auditing organs, state management organs. We look for breaches of the law for them, we entreat them to implement the law, and suggest how this should be done, in the belief that in so doing we are overseeing the rule of law. Prosecutor's Office scrutiny is not a planned audit. It should be conducted only if there is an indication of a breach of the rule of law. Its task is not to draw someone's attention to particular shortcomings, but to identify the wrongdoer and take due action against him.

[Rudnev] How will you build your relationship with the courts? After all, according to the notion of a rule-of-law state, they are no longer subordinate to you, to the prosecutors...

[Trubin] We will return to Lenin's concept of prosecutor's oversight. Remember that the prosecutor can have no option other than the right to apply to the court. Indeed, in accordance with the 1922 law, the Prosecutor's Office was only entitled to conduct a state prosecution in the court. It was later that overseeing of the courts emerged. And if we intend to give up this oversight function, then we have to curtail our rights to the level of the rights of the other side of the proceedings—the defense. Then everyone really will be equal before the law.

I believe that in the near future the prosecutor will be involved in examining only a certain category of civil and criminal cases. Instead of lodging an appeal we would make submissions (a kind of prosecutor's complaint), calling for a review of decisions on that very specific category of cases which are illegal, in the prosecutor's opinion.

[Rudnev] Our newspaper has already written a great deal about the "war of laws." But a "truce" is not an attractive option, as they say, at the moment. Indeed, the prosecutors claim that at the moment they have no real opportunity to influence local authorities' illegal decisions...

[Trubin] That was the case, indeed. Having a misconception of the sovereignty of certain territories, local soviets started making decisions contradicting not only the USSR Constitution and USSR laws, but even republican constitutions and laws. But existing legislation, above all the country's Basic Law, prevented prosecutors from protesting these decisions by soviets.

We suggested to the country's legislators that they adopt amendments to the USSR Constitution and entitle prosecutors to react to illegal decisions by soviets. The people's deputies looked kindly on our proposals and adopted the amendment. I believe prosecutors now have the opportunity to resolve disputes "peacefully." We are also hoping that as a result of the elaboration of subsequent draft laws, prosecutors will be entitled to suspend the protested decisions and to appeal to the court if their protests are turned down. Finally, it is very much to be hoped that we will switch from words about the strengthening of legal and social protection of law enforcement organs and the need to provide better material and technical equipment, to action.

[Rudnev] I notice that not once in our conversation have you used the phrase "fight against crime." Is the Prosecutor's Office quitting the struggle, then?

[Trubin] No, but we will be changing the manner of our participation in the fight. I have stressed repeatedly that the Prosecutor's Office must not be seen as a crime-fighting organ. The Prosecutor's Office is the organ that oversees the observance of laws in the fight that the professionals—the Ministry of Internal Affairs [MVD] and the KGB—are supposed to wage.

[Rudnev] In that case, what lies in store for the Prosecutor's Office investigators?

[Trubin] My inclination is for an independent investigation committee. But that will take time and money. We have neither at the moment. The most realistic step in that direction is to concentrate the investigation of offenses under ordinary law in the USSR MVD. We will find suitable prosecutor posts for Prosecutor's Office investigators who cannot or choose not to switch to the MVD.

[Rudnev] As for the departyization of the Prosecutor's Office, the process is clearly gathering momentum. It is not only individual Prosecutor's Office staffers in the center and in the provinces that are giving up their CPSU party cards, but entire collectives. Recently, for example, the communists of a transport prosecutor's office unanimously decided to discontinue their CPSU membership. What does the general prosecutor think about this?

[Trubin] I do not see any tragedy in the evident trend to departyize law enforcement organs. So I do not intend either to encourage the process or to hinder it. I personally am not abandoning my party beliefs and I am not suspending my party membership. It was a deliberate decision to join the CPSU and, despite the problems the party is experiencing, I believe in its ideals. As for the others, it is a matter of their beliefs, of their conscience. And if certain prosecutors or collectives intend to leave the party, it will have no effect at all on our working relationship. Party statutes should not apply to our professional activities...

[Rudnev] But they do apply to them! The "Pledge by Soviet Prosecutor's Office workers," a kind of prosecutor's oath, the text, admittedly approved by a previous USSR general prosecutor, contains the following words: "I pledge devotion to the CPSU."

[Trubin] Unfortunately, I have not yet gotten round to looking at all the documents of my predecessors. You were perfectly correct to draw attention to the text of the "Pledge." It needs to be thoroughly revised and reworked, of course. Indeed, hitherto we have been prisoners of the old phraseology. For instance, socialist rule of law sounds as absurd today as semi-fresh sturgeon.

[Rudnev] They say you are constantly writing in a notebook. What is in it, if it is not a secret?

[Trubin] The first entry since I was confirmed as USSR general prosecutor was made in the Kremlin. The USSR people's deputies informed me that the republic of Moldova had made amendments to criminal legislation that in practice could lead to a violation of human rights. I am still looking into the situation. There are already many notes on the establishment of business contacts with the leaders of republican prosecutor's offices. My next trip will be to Kiev... There is also an entry about the case of T. Gdlyan and N. Ivanov. I believe that a decision will have to be made on this in the very near future. Of course, I will not be reading all 200 volumes, but I will be studying the main documents. At the moment I am selecting a reliable, experienced Prosecutor's Office staffer, one who is untouched by all the emotion raging over the case, as my assistant. Preferably, he will not be a member of the USSR Prosecutor's Office apparatus.

Incidentally, I must make another entry—find out to whom a prosecutor is supposed to swear an oath. Thank you, IZVESTIYA, for the suggestion.

Statement on 11 Jan Nonbroadcast of 'Vzglyad' LD1101221891

[Editorial Report] Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian at 1854 GMT on 11 January carries the "VID" ("View and Others") program presented by Igor Kirillov. Kirillov makes the following statement:

"As you already know, the 'Vzglyad' program once again will not be broadcast today. On 9 January the editorial department for youth programs received a written instruction from the leadership under which, I quote, the editorial department is instructed to present a more precise concept for the 'Vzglyad' program for 1991.

"Instructions are given for elaborating conditions for a contract between the team of program makers and the leadership of Central Television, that contract to make provision for mutual responsibility for the content and quality of the program and for observance of broadcasting discipline. Until these matters have been examined the production and broadcasting of the 'Vzglyad' program is halted.

"That is a brief summary of the instruction. We would like to offer heartfelt thanks to all viewers who have sent telegrams to 'Vzglyad' recently, particularly older people—war and labor veterans. To the writers of the most emotional of these, we would like to say that what can help us today is not so much our feelings, our emotions, but rather calm, endurance, and courage. Thank you."

Officials on Future of Program

91UN0696B Moscow ARGUMENTY I FAKTY
in Russian No 2, Jan 91 p 1

[Interviews with A. Lyubimov, producer of the "Vzglyad" program, A. Politkovskiy, special correspondent of the program, A. Shipilov, chief of the ViD TV Company, and V. Listyev, commentator of the program, by ARGUMENTY I FAKTY correspondent A. Binev; place and date not given: "Will There Be a 'Vzglyad'?"]

[Text] The New Year's edition of "Vzglyad" was not aired, and subsequent broadcasts have been postponed as well. On 4 January, Gosteleradio [State Committee for Television and Radio Broadcasting] refused to rerun the documentary "The Team" about E. Shevardnadze and his associates, and on 8 January producer of the program A. Lyubimov was told in the office of Deputy Gosteleradio Chairman A. Reshetov that the program would be taken off the air indefinitely.

[Binev] Is this decision of your management final?

[Lyubimov] It was stated to us that it would be impossible to put it on the air until we set forth our concept, despite the fact that it has been indicated in proper documents—coverage of public and political life in our country. I believe that USSR Gosteleradio Chairman L. Kravchenko did not like the way we covered this life.

[Binev] Could the issue be that you undertook questions of political rearrangements in the upper echelons of power, including the well-known Shevardnadze statement?

[Politkovskiy] I believe that this was merely a pretext for dealing with us. This was not the cause. By 11 January 1991, we filed a program outline that did not have segments on Shevardnadze. They still did not let us go on the air.

[Binev] What is the reason for the ban then?

[Lyubimov] It was said, and it is no secret, that the political views of the Gosteleradio management and the creative collective of the "Vzglyad" program differ. This is the main reason.

[Binev] Does this signify the beginning of a general "crusade" against the democratic mass media?

[Shipilov] Nobody has empowered us to speak for all democratic publications; however, what is happening here cannot but alarm us because we interpret this not only as an isolated case of denying the airwaves to "Vzglyad," but as a confirmation of certain tendencies that have appeared in our political life. I perceive this as a manifestation of political censorship that is banned under the Law on the Press and Other Mass Media.

[Listyev] For two and a half years, there was an opportunity to express various points of view on TV, and this is what "Vzglyad" did. We fit in the overall trend; moreover, we led the way. The trend has begun to change now that the reinforcement of centralized power is required. We have become ill-suited.

[Binev] What do you expect to do?

[Politkovskiy] We will fight for our program. I cannot conceive of myself without of it. A year ago I appealed to TV viewers with a proposal to set up a foundation sponsored by our program for helping people whom life has driven into a dead end. I understand now that the time has come for us to ask for help.

ARGUMENTY I FAKTY asked USSR Gosteleradio Chairman **L. Kravchenko** to answer the same questions; however, the request for a meeting with us, as well as the correspondents of a number of other Soviet and foreign newspapers, was turned down. The chairman's aide **A. Udovenko** informed our correspondent that no interviews will be given until a decision is made on the Cabinet of Ministers of the country and the place of the Gosteleradio in this structure. The chairman is not taking appointments.

We attempted to find answers in an official document from which, by all signs, the new chairman proceeds. This is "Regulations on the Chief Editorial Office of Central TV and Radio Broadcasting of the USSR State Committee for Television and Radio Broadcasting" (dated 27 April 1972):

"1. The Chief Editorial Office of Central Television...is the main structural subdivision of the State Committee, the creative collective of which is called upon to prepare strictly defined broadcasts of a high ideological and political...standard."

2. The main tasks are: "...to extensively show the life of the Soviet people and its success in building communism, to elaborate on the advantages of the socialist system over the capitalist system...to unmask bourgeois ideology...to bring up the Soviet people in the spirit of communist ideological dedication and morality...."

Weather Center Strikes To Protest Lithuania

*LD1601034291 Moscow Domestic Service
in Russian 0300 GMT 16 Jan 91*

[Text] It is now 0604 in Moscow. At the end of the first news bulletin of "Panorama" we would have liked to cheer you up, as we traditionally do, with the quality forecast from the Weather center, but unfortunately, on the contrary, we will have to disappoint you.

We have received a telegram, signed by the chairman of the labor collective council of the USSR Weather Center saying that the collective of the USSR Weather Center is today, that is 16 January, carrying out a political strike in condemnation, as is explained in the text of the use of military force in Lithuania and against the onset of reaction in the country.

It continues, and I quote the telegram: There will no be weather forecasts on 16 and 17 January. Services to industry, however will be maintained in full."

It also goes on to explain that the USSR Weather Center cannot be held responsible for the weather forecasts broadcast by the media today, 16 January.

Since we also do not want to be held responsible for inaccurate information, we will simply not broadcast any weather forecasts today. All queries you can address directly to the USSR Weather Center.

Presidential Aide Examines Executive Power

*91UN0675B Moscow SOYUZ in Russian
No 52, Dec 90 p 3*

[Interview with Georgiy Shakhnazarov, aide to the president of the USSR, conducted by Aleksandra Lugovskaya during breaks in the Fourth Congress of USSR People's Deputies; date not given; published under the rubric "Presidential Power": "If He Makes Mistakes, He Makes Them in Policy, Not in Petty Politicking"]

[Text] [Lugovskaya] How frequently are you in contact with President Gorbachev?

[Shakhnazarov] Three or four times a week, sometimes at close range, but we usually sit and work in quite compact fashion.

[Lugovskaya] How will E. Shevardnadze's departure be reflected in the world community's perception of our foreign policy?

[Shakhnazarov] There will be costs, of course, particularly at first, but the congress supported the president of the USSR in our policy course remaining unchanged. Although the departure of an intelligent, interesting man is always a loss.

[Lugovskaya] Was this really a protest against the threat of dictatorship?

[Shakhnazarov] He did not specify where this dictatorship would come. A Foreign Ministry spokesman specified at his request that it was not a question of the strengthening of executive authority—E. Shevardnadze, on the contrary, supports it. Clearly, the guarantee against dictatorship, a junta, tyranny, and so forth should be powers of the president clearly determined by law, the efficacy of parliament, freedom of speech and the press, and glasnost.

[Lugovskaya] Throw a little light on the secret of appointment to offices in the structures under the president.

[Shakhnazarov] He does not care all that much for revealing such secrets, and he is not alone—no world leader is about to share his plans on this score. The president will initially confer with the republics, then submit the candidates to the Supreme Soviet.

[Lugovskaya] The president is being taken to task for easily parting with his supporters.

[Shakhnazarov] On the contrary, he is characterized by a high degree of loyalty in respect of his comrades with whom he began perestroika. He recently expressed this thought: Those with whom I began this undertaking will be with me until they themselves leave me.

[Lugovskaya] The deputies are interpreting contrarily the proposal concerning the inclusion on the agenda of the question of no confidence in the president. Some consider this his own game for letting off "steam" at the congress, others, on the other hand, see it as an encroachment on the inviolability of the president.

[Shakhnazarov] Those who see this as the guile of the president are judging politics according to their own notions. Intrigues are not a part of Gorbachev. And if he makes mistakes, he makes them in policy, not petty politicking.

[Lugovskaya] How reliable is the information the president is receiving about the so-called destructive forces?

[Shakhnazarov] The fact that he is meeting with the leaders of certain parties is a good thing in itself. In addition, he is talking with them here also, in parliament. He invites politicians to meetings of the Federation Council—both Sobchak and Popov.... But the point is that an official opposition has not yet taken shape, we

simply do not have such a thing. Travkin "pushes" his line, Afanasyev, his, while Yeltsin does not acknowledge himself to be the leader of some party or other. I believe that such uncertainty will come to an end and that two or three major all-Union parties will emerge here. And this will be a good thing. Finally, it will be clear to all: These are democrats, these are liberals.

[Lugovskaya] Could the "Soyuz" group become a political party in time?

[Shakhnazarov] I believe so, yes. Not a reactionary but a pretty good conservative party. Conservatism is useful. It seems to me that, despite all our distinctiveness, we will get whatever the "Western" political spectrum is: democrats, liberals, socialists, and conservatives.

[Lugovskaya] And what, in your opinion, is M. Gorbachev?

[Shakhnazarov] He has always made his position clear. His credo is democratic socialism. And I am sure that M.S. Gorbachev is a 100-percent democrat because both parliament and all the rest are his creation.

[Lugovskaya] Surprisingly, M. Gorbachev remains, despite his outward affability, "closed." Why?

[Shakhnazarov] Truly, he avoids excessive contacts because he is monstrously busy. Every day his aides and adjutants lug to his house three attache cases of papers each. His working day ends at 2200 in the evening, and he sits up until 0100 or 0200 in the morning going through this stream of documents. But he is a very personable and open individual.

[Lugovskaya] There is reliable information that the leaders of four republics—the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic], the Ukraine, Kazakhstan, and Belorussia—are discussing their version of a Union treaty which is to their liking.

[Shakhnazarov] This is in fact Solzhenitsyn's plan, according to which the nucleus of the Union should be these four republics, having stronger and more dependable ties. This idea seems very sound to me also.

[Lugovskaya] Is this not strange, considering that Solzhenitsyn's ideas have evoked great criticism in the republics?

[Shakhnazarov] He evoked criticism not because he called the four republics the nucleus of the Union but because his article "How To Put Russia Together Again" contains elements interpreted in the republics as exhibiting disrespect and disregard. In Central Asia particularly.

[Lugovskaya] What kind of Union would this be? Opposition to the center or a new center?

[Shakhnazarov] I do not believe that we will take this path inasmuch as it is not the position of the other republics. Specifically, all the Central Asian republics have supported

the signing of a Union treaty, which has been discussed officially; neither, most likely, will Armenia or Moldova go anywhere. Everyone is now attacking the mythical center this way and that. But it should be viewed from a different standpoint—do the republics need it or not? And the first months of disorder even have shown distinctly how important such a center is.

Soyuz Deputy on Executive Power

91UN0675C Moscow SOYUZ in Russian
No 52, Dec 90 p 3

[Interview with Yuriy Blokhin, member of the Presidium of the "Soyuz" parliamentary group and chairman of the All-Union Association of "Soyuz" Deputies of All Levels, conducted by Aleksandra Lugovskaya during breaks in the Fourth Congress of USSR People's Deputies; date not given; published under the rubric "Presidential Power": "The President Should Present Us With a Clear Concept So That We Do Not Subsequently Ask Superfluous Questions"]

[Text] [Lugovskaya] Are you pleased that the question of no confidence in the president, presented in the first version of the appeal to him in the Association of "Soyuz" Deputies of All levels, was suddenly put to the congress? To what extent was your group involved in this proposal?

[Blokhin] I will say unequivocally that the "Soyuz" group had nothing to do with this, although S. Umalatova is, indeed, a member of it. Her speech was a complete surprise for all of us, and what was also astonishing, what is more, is that she was the first of the group to appear on the rostrum. I believe that such proposals, if expressed, should be based on a common decision, but at the meeting of the group this position was sharply rejected by the deputies. But, nonetheless, far from everyone could take upon themselves such moral responsibility as S. Umalatova's action—a civic action.

[Lugovskaya] One further demand expressed at the constituent congress of the "Soyuz" association—E. Shevardnadze's resignation—is being put into effect.

[Blokhin] It was not a question of resignation at that time, but we did demand an account from him at the Supreme Soviet of the Persian Gulf situation and the USSR's position on this question. But we did indeed insist on V. Bakatin's resignation inasmuch as he had, in our opinion, failed to cope with his duties.

[Lugovskaya] And how do you perceive E. Shevardnadze's resignation request now?

[Blokhin] This was a big act. I cannot name the author and the producer but E. Shevardnadze played the central part. I would call it indecorous since a top-ranking leader should not be making such decisions, in such a categorical form, what is more. Thought has to be given to the possible consequences for society, and there should be

no pronouncements about dictatorship. After all, dictatorship depends not on left-right, not on conservatives or radicals, but primarily on the state of society as a whole. If there is ruin in the economy equivalent to us falling into a deep pit, then you will have conditions for dictatorship. Because climbing out of it without effort is impossible.

[Lugovskaya] And what, in your opinion, was the purpose of this "act"?

[Blokhin] To avoid public discussion of the activity of his department and, to some extent, responsibility. On the other hand, a desire to influence democratically-minded people, to appeal to them and to organize. This shows through also. But there are, in general, many surprises at the congress, but saying why is difficult.

[Lugovskaya] Which might you cite as the central features in the work of the congress?

[Blokhin] The main issue is the situation in the country. And I would not like us to have left the congress without having formulated measures of an emergency nature to extricate the country from the crisis. If this is the case, we will all have to pay a pretty price. We do not understand what ails us. We have no clear perspective of what needs to be done in the country in the immediate future. I refer to a comprehensive evaluation of the situation, particularly in the sphere of the economy. We believe that the president of the USSR, as the captain, should present us with a concept containing a digest of ideas pertaining to all planes of economic, political, social, and cultural life. So that we subsequently not ask him superfluous questions. His report has as yet been not all that substantive, and I am critical of it. The Supreme Soviet decree on the country adopted back on 23 November is not being realized. I would like even here at the congress for the persons responsible for realization of these emergency measures to be named.

[Lugovskaya] What expresses the "Soyuz" group's position regarding the draft Union treaty?

[Blokhin] It was unnecessary in principle since the previous one, with the aid of amendments, say, could have been perfected. But in today's situation a Union treaty needs to be completed and concluded as quickly as possible. There is much that we do not like in the proposed draft, primarily the vagueness on the key points: the nature of the political system and the form of government. The treaty needs to reflect the clauses of the Constitution calling our state socialist and where the soviets of people's deputies are the main authority. If they disappear, this will signify an entirely different vision of our system, potentially angering broad masses of the people. We are now adopting a draft, as a general concept, considering the said complaints. It is important that the treaty be signed by all subjects of the federation, not only the 15 Union republics. But the extent to which they are prepared to do so simultaneously is a big question.

[Lugovskaya] A particular image of your group has already taken shape in society—it is called reactionary. Does such an evaluation not harm you?

[Blokhin] No. You should not judge by individual deputies—there are various people in our group. But I by no means condemn V. Alksnis, for example, although we occupy, on the whole, softer positions. More specifically, we would like to assist the leader of our state.

[Lugovskaya] Are you sure that a majority of our society, like you, supports the socialist development path? With great possibilities in parliament, you could, after all, "impose" it politically.

[Blokhin] I myself do not pay that much attention to "isms" but do not have the right to disregard the mood of all members of the group. Within the framework of the "Soyuz" group almost 80 percent of the deputies have in surveys advocated socialism. They are ready to change the content, but the form remains for them sacrosanct. An archaic approach? But who can tell me with confidence that the Baltic and Moldova... have taken a step forward? We have united for the sake of preservation of the unity of our state, but support its renewal.

Journalists Union Warns of Threats to Glasnost

PM1601102691 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
15 Jan 91 Second Edition p 2

["Statement by the USSR Journalists' Union"—PRAVDA headline]

[Text] Glasnost is in danger. Pressure on the media is increasing with every passing day.

The first blow was economic. Last year's rise in printing and mail costs pushed many periodicals, including the central publications, to the brink of financial disaster.

Political blows are being directed at the editorial teams of a number of newspapers, magazines, news agencies, and television programs.

There have even been direct attempts on journalists' lives. First, a shot rang out in Leningrad—the famous Leningrad television journalist Aleksandr Nevzorov was wounded. Salatyn Askerova, a journalist with the newspaper MOLODEZH AZERBAYDZHANA, was killed whilst carrying out her duties. Shots rang out in Kaluga too—Ivan Fomin, editor of the oblast newspaper ZNAMYA, was killed, and photojournalist Gennadiy Golovkov was seriously wounded. Criminal elements have also threatened others among our colleagues.

The USSR Journalists' Union expresses extreme concern at the current situation. We insist on an open discussion of the facts surrounding the pressure on the media. We demand that the law enforcement organs carry out an urgent investigation of the crimes committed against journalists.

Perestroyka and glasnost have opened people's eyes. Now the reactionary and criminal forces are trying to close them—in the literal and figurative sense.

The USSR Journalists' Union calls on all of the country's progressive journalists to stand firm in the face of danger and to carry out their civil duty honestly.

'Procapitalist' Democratic Trends Profiled

PM1501133191 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
15 Jan 91 First Edition pp 1, 3

[Article by candidate of philosophical sciences K. Grigoryev: "Whom We Should Expect in the Multiparty Home. Registration of Political Parties Began 1 January 1991"]

[Text] However our country's destiny takes shape in the future, it is already obvious that 1989-1990 will enter its history as a time marked by the "explosive" formation of new political parties and sociopolitical associations (people's fronts and various blocs and coalitions).

How Many Are There?

There are now roughly 20 parties and sociopolitical organizations that claim all-union status operating in the country's political arena. It is also advisable, in my view, to include among them those parties in the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] that have stable ties with similar political forces in other republics,

The numerical strength of most of these subjects of political relations fluctuates between a few hundred (the Socialist Party, the Liberal Democratic Party, and the Islamic Revival Party) and several thousand (the Democratic Party and the "Democratic Union" party). The leaders of some of these parties claim numbers for their organizations running into tens of thousands. For instance, N. Travkin, chairman of the Democratic Party of Russia, has said that his organization has roughly 25,000 members. According to its chairman, that party has many municipal and rural rayon organizations in a number of areas of Russia.

It seems simply impossible to determine the real numerical strength of the absolute majority within the political system in our society. Why? First, because numbers are generally recorded on the basis of statements made by these organizations' leaders. And practice shows that they endeavor to overstate the number of their supporters by an average of 1.5-2 times. Second, many of the new political parties do not register their members. This is particularly typical of the so-called "party movements" recognizing not only individual but also collective membership. Third, numerous cases of dual and even triple membership have been recorded: This not only applies to parties' rank-and-file members but can even be found at leadership level.

Nor should one forget that some new political organizations do not recommend that you parade your membership. Here is a very typical clause from the statutes of Russia's "Shchit" ["Shield"] union, mainly comprising servicemen, military reservists, and members of their families. The document says that a member of the union is entitled to "keep his membership of the union secret." On this premise, you cannot deny or confirm the truth of the statement made by V. Urazhtsev, "Shchit's" cochairman, that the union "currently comprises 20,000 people. It has more than 500 primary organizations operating in garrisons, on ships, and among members of servicemen's families."

Incidentally, the Democratic Party of Russia, the Republican Party of Russia, and the Russian Christian Democratic Movement, while verbally advocating, like all "democrats," the depoliticization and departyization of law-enforcement organs, the Soviet Army, and enterprises and establishments, are also simultaneously trying to set up production-based primary organizations. In other words, Communists should not harbor the slightest illusion: These parties' leaders are endeavoring not to depoliticize these selfsame law-enforcement organs but to politically and ideologically reorient them.

The "moment of truth" for most new political parties aspiring to union-wide activity came after 1 January 1991 when the USSR Law "On Public Associations" came into force. It is well known that a minimum party membership of 5,000 people has been set. I think that many of them will be unable to surmount—at least at the first attempt—this membership threshold. There is reason to believe that many parties not registering will continue to operate without authorization or—and this is not impossible either—merge with spiritually similar parties.

Quests for a Principle

We can talk today about two main forms or types of new political party from the organizational viewpoint. First, vanguard parties. Second, movements.

The former include the Democratic Party of Russia operates on principles of democratic centralism, and has rigid discipline, recognizing only individual membership, etc. In building this kind of party N. Travkin proceeded on the premise that the main political opponent—the CPSU—can only be vanquished if it is countered by a "noncommunist" party based on similar organizational principles. There is by no means an unequivocal view of the party structure that he has suggested among many "democrats" who have gotten accustomed to "democratic liberties," so to speak. By and large they frequently assess N. Travkin's policy as "neo-Bolshevism," "Fourierism," etc. So, it was in many respects owing to this that a split occurred at the Democratic Party of Russia's constituent congress held in Moscow in May 1990. A group of delegates left the

congress and a little later (in June) organized the even more blatantly anticommunist Free Democratic Party of Russia.

Most other political parties (apart from "Shchit") form not as vanguard-type parties but as movements. The principle of "democratic unity" is fundamental to their activity: Only those decisions voted on are binding on lower-ranking organizations. Others are just recommendations. Collective membership is also permissible in many of these parties—that, on the one hand, undoubtedly weakens them but, on the other, makes it possible to unite quite diverse groups under a single "umbrella." So, until recently there were five factions in a typical party movement—the "Democratic Union"—including a group of anarchists and even... a "communist" faction. Of course, the latter's communism was, to put it mildly, extremely relative, but the fact remains, nevertheless.

"Democrats," Unite!

Calls to unite have been heard among "democrats." This process began with statements from a number of "democrat" leaders saying that perestroika as it relates to the apparatus and the nomenklatura was already exhausted: Power was still allegedly in the hands of the party-state nomenklatura and democrats could only pit a few small, uncoordinated parties against it.

The constituent congress held by the "Democratic Russia" bloc (October 1990) was an important milestone in the unification of "democratic forces." Representatives of more than 30 "democratic" organizations and movements took part in its work as delegates and guests. The words spoken by A. Murashov, chairman of the "Democratic Russia" organizational committee, became the congress' theme: "We constitute an alternative movement to the CPSU course." In other words, anti-communism, "anti-CPSU-ism" is the small thing that did indeed unite the participants in and guests of the congress. "Democratic Russia" today is a fairly right-wing, liberal-bourgeois pole in the RSFSR's political life and to a considerable extent the life of the country as a whole.

The formation of the "Left-Wing Democracy" bloc based on the "People's Self-Government" movement is proceeding vigorously, albeit somewhat astern of the right-wing forces. It was founded by three political organizations—the Socialist Party, the "Green" Party, and the Confederation of Anarchosyndicalists; they represent its backbone. In September 1990 they formulated left-wing forces' draft platform. It essentially boils down to criticizing the Russian Government's "500 Days" program and justifying left-wing democrats' "nonalignment" with the "Democratic Russia" bloc. By 5 November 1990 this platform had been signed by—in addition to the aforementioned—representatives of "Pamyat," the left-wing social democrats, the Committee for Aid to the Working-Class Movement, and Communists' Democratic movements.

The Centrist Bloc comprising roughly 20 political parties and movements made its presence felt for the first time late last October. It includes, in particular, the Liberal Democratic Party, the A.D. Sakharov Union of Democratic Forces, the Russian People's Front, the Democratic Party, and "Soyuz"—a group of people's deputies of all levels. This bloc's main task is to seek peaceful, nonviolent means of overcoming the crisis, combat extremism by political methods, and form a government of national accord. In fall 1990 the leaders of most of the organizations within the centrist bloc met certain leaders of the USSR Supreme Soviet and the country's Council of Ministers. During these meetings they discussed, in particular, the problems and prospects of concluding the Union Treaty.

The process of forming blocs and uniting various political forces is not a one-way process—a tremendous amount of internal work is under way at the same time within all three blocs to clarify the positions held by the various parties within them.

Splits, Splits...

Now a word about splits. They are today, as it were, a generic characteristic among "democratic" forces. The clashes between V. Shirinovskiy and K. Krivonosov (Liberal Democratic Party), N. Travkin and A. Murashov (Democratic Party of Russia), V. Lysenko and V. Shostakovskiy (Republican Party of Russia), A. Obolenskii and O. Rumyantsev, on the one hand, and certain other leaders of the Social Democratic Party of Russia on the other are well known. These clashes are so severe that they have in a number of cases already brought about the disintegration of certain newly-formed parties and sociopolitical organizations and the emergence of new ones. Such cases are by no means ruled out in the future.

How are we to evaluate these splits and divisions? There is the view that they attest to the weakness of the "democrats." That is indeed true, but it is not the whole truth. Since not only are even smaller and, consequently, less vigorous structures than the initial structures being formed as a result of the splits, but there is also a quest under way for more "natural" political allies.

What is more, the initiative to create the "Democratic Congress" bloc can now be regarded as a qualitatively new phase in the existence of right-wing forces. Whereas previously they were mainly united on an anticommunist and "anti-CPSU" basis, we now have the quest for constructive (from their viewpoint) foundations for a coalition. While rejecting anticommunism as such, they are talking in more definite terms than before about their model society where private ownership of the main means of production should prevail, the CPSU should be barred from power, and the elimination of Marxism-Leninism as the ideology of the working class and working people.

The "set" of sociopolitical movements that we have given is an incomplete one. The so-called national-patriotic movements are absent from it. But they are a matter for separate discussion. The article has mentioned those parties that we are accustomed to describe as "democrats." What is the overall nature of this movement? It can be defined as a whole as "liberal bourgeois with strong prosocialist tendencies." Although none of the programs espoused by the parties and associations within "Democratic Russia" directly indicates a calling by a particular party for the restoration of capitalism in our country, their socioeconomic aims can be defined unequivocally as "procapitalist." The task of uniting all left-wing, prosocialist forces to counter this capitalist trend is extremely important. However, we are still only just beginning our work in this context...

Panel Chairman Ponders State Sovereignty

PM1501090191 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
14 Jan 91 Union Edition p 2

[Article by S. Alekseyev, chairman of the USSR Constitutional Oversight Committee, under the "Events and Comments" rubric: "The Stakes Are Too High. On Political Cliches and Laws of Science"]

[Text] Work in the USSR Constitutional Oversight Committee now and then comes up against the harsh realities of our complex present-day life. It makes you starkly aware of how politics and science are sometimes incompatible and alien to each other. To put it more precisely, the political passions being expressed in political cliches apart from anywhere else inexorably demands the natural laws be formulated by science. In recent times—and not altogether groundlessly—emotionally brash formulas like "paralysis of power," "war of laws," and "diktat by the center" have been widely used in our country's stormy political life.

These formulas, comprehensible and appropriate in political battles and in many ways been caused by them, are then often turned into political cliches claiming to be categorical in some way: If there is a "war of laws" then this means a war that must be won by all means; if there is a "strong center" then all its decisions are always binding, and so on.

Whenever such cliches—making no allowances for each other because of their maximalism—clash with each other, they inflame passions, make various situations unresolvable in principle, and lead to an impasse. And—and this is particularly deplorable—they undermine any qualified and substantiated analysis of the essence of the matter, based on the laws of science.

And here we should recall what would seem to be the most obvious provision: Objective natural laws operate in all spheres of social reality. And not just in the economic sphere, whose decisive force—as we have finally realized and admitted—lies not in the judgments of the State Planning Committee, but in the laws of commodity-money relations, the consumer market, and

supply and demand. There are similar and equally tough natural laws in other spheres of society too, including state life, the law, legality, and culture!

The **main** question, pressing for discussion and solution, is that of sovereignty.

Now, evidently because of the aforementioned cliches, no one doubts that if some state formation or other or even an administrative-territorial subdivision in the country has declared its own "full sovereignty," then from that moment on it has the right to do what it likes, adopt any decisions, and perform any actions. But why, one wonders.

National rebirth in the current period is one of the significant signs of the times, a symbol and expression of mankind's gigantic achievement—the movement of the whole world toward Freedom. Hence the inviolable and absolute autonomy and independence of every nation and every nationality, their full sovereignty. But what sovereignty? **National** sovereignty. Sovereignty that has absolute significance and is in this sense expressed in the ethnic distinctiveness of nations and nationalities, in their right to use their will alone to determine their own destiny, to build their specific life that cannot be repeated by anyone at anytime, on the basis of inviolable self-determination.

But the word "sovereignty" has many meanings, it embraces a number of strict concepts, as scientific data testifies, concepts coinciding in some ways, but nevertheless are diverse: national sovereignty must be distinguished from state sovereignty in particular. And although national self-determination must without fail be backed and guaranteed by commensurate state-legal forms, state sovereignty is nonetheless subordinate to its own laws, like everything else in the state sphere; and therefore it is impossible to evade the following question, for example: How did the "absolute nature" of national sovereignty suddenly become the "absolute nature" of state sovereignty? Making all the wealth within the boundaries unilaterally proclaimed to be "exclusive property" and the supremacy of its laws is proclaimed and then implemented, and so on? After all, ever since the early Middle Ages, when there really existed "fully independent" separate princedoms, kingdoms, and free cities based on barter—eternally at war with each other—there was no mention of absolute state sovereignty. In accordance with scientific data, it cannot exist. Because at the contemporary level of civilization—in an integrated world economy and the unavoidable interdependence of states along economic, environmental, humanitarian, and many other lines—state sovereignty in its features (laws) can only be subject to restrictions. In any case, it cannot be absolute, but takes into account the sovereignty of other states and the growing influence of world and regional communities of states. Hence the solid, stable legal relations between members of the world community, stable law and order, and the ensuing supremacy of international public law over the norms of internal state law, and the same supremacy of normative

provisions of regional communities like, for example, the single European law upheld and developed by the EC Court. And such supremacy is all the more substantiated and immutable in relations between state associations not only of a federal but also of a confederal type; associations that only have a meaning and can really exist only when all their subdivisions, sections, and state and administrative formations are firmly linked by unified law and order, by unified principles and norms existing and operating, of course, within well-known and defined limits. Such is the inarguable logic, these are the strict natural laws existing in the sphere of state life—the sphere that concerns state sovereignty.

What happens when actions are committed that do not take natural laws into account?

It seems to me no accident that the union and autonomous republics that declared their sovereignty did so in special documents called "declarations," that is documents proclaiming principles, general policy, and legislative intentions; moreover I get the impression that these republics, with few exceptions, had in mind nothing other than national sovereignty and the corresponding restoration of a state system guaranteeing that and no more; and expressions like "supremacy of laws," "exclusive property," and others must be seen in the context of national sovereignty. Here, bearing in mind its absolute nature, such declarations are something perfectly justifiable and fair.

Then there was an about-face in a number of republics—incomprehensible and altogether unthinkable in terms of scientific laws, because when the objective laws of reality and laws of science are ignored, regardless of the sphere of society concerned, they will inevitably exact harsh vengeance. There occurred a shift that was totally unexplained (and it is impossible to explain from the scientific viewpoint), hardly noticeable on the surface, and perhaps even unnoticed by the main characters—a shift from concepts and characteristics that were justified with respect to national sovereignty, to state sovereignty, suddenly started being treated as "full" and "absolute." And the most frightening point was that this shift—and what is more, it occurred within the framework of a united federative state!—was accompanied by references to "the declaration on sovereignty," "full sovereignty," the actual promulgation of republic juridical laws, and other practical actions which directly and openly ignored all-union legal principles and norms.

And the result? A "war of laws"? "Paralysis of power"? Oh, if only it were just that! The aforementioned political cliches, with all their emotional brashness, only provide an external, perhaps lighter description of the state of affairs. The result of the disregard for natural laws of science is **a universal and growing destruction of the state system and legality.** And this destruction cannot be justified by anything, be it by noble or not so noble motives, or by the desire to ensure the maximum autonomy of nations, or by the struggle for leadership, or by the desire to resolve what the "center" is stubbornly

refusing to resolve. Because the destruction of statehood and legality is something that is beyond any comparison—it is a total catastrophe for society leading to its disintegration, an abyss swallowing nations and their political leaders, and all of us at once. And the horror of such an abyss sent shivers down the spine of all who saw and heard what was happening on the last day of work at the Fourth Congress of USSR People's Deputies, when the sharp conflict about budgets came to light...

What is to happen if the "center" really lags behind and the all-union legal principles and norms do not meet the republics' real needs? Or if some republic really does want to break with the Union?

Let me answer: First of all, it is never possible to achieve one's aims, even if they are justified, by means of destroying the statehood and legality (and indeed using the law itself to these ends—an institution by its nature designed to strengthen authority and legality; this is the terrible paradox...).

There is one solution—ACCORD. A political solution expressed in an agreement, in understanding, and in "consensus,"—as it is now fashionable to say—must be reached. And such an agreement must concern the main and decisive issue—the **distribution of powers** between the Union and the republics—a question that must be separated from the Union Treaty and resolved now, immediately, literally right away. The stakes are too high and the losses that might be caused by any delay are incalculable.

Until such an agreement is reached, a moratorium is needed (that, incidentally, was being proposed back in the summer by the Constitutional Oversight Committee)—a moratorium, I think, on all laws that contradict each other or the parts of them that contradict each other, and a deferment of the practical implementation of relevant normative provisions until such time as an agreement on the distribution of powers is reached. There is no other way.

Fired Agent Details Corruption in KGB

91UF0323 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA
in Russian 9 Jan 91 p 2

[Article by Sergey Kiselev, LITERATURNAYA GAZETA Ukraine correspondent: "Say a Good Word for the Former Operative: An Intelligence Officer Reminisces"]

[Text] This man is 45 years old. For 14 years he was a professional intelligence officer, rising to the rank of KGB major and retiring from the position of senior operative. These are the stages in his intelligence career. An engineer by education, he was, as they say, referred to the state security organs for employment, graduated from two special college-level closed KGB schools, and specialized in the Turkish language. But he was never sent to work in Turkey. After gaining specialized experience in the regional intelligence departments and in the

KGB First Chief Directorate (FCD)—that we now know deals with external intelligence—he was sent to the Near East. As to his official status—his "cover"—he was given the sufficiently high diplomatic rank of vice consul of the embassy's consular division.

When asked what he knew about the vice consul's work and what would be included in his diplomatic duties (after all, not all vice consuls are professional intelligence officers), he said that for several months before the Near East assignment he had worked in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, studying both consular work and the intricacies of diplomatic etiquette so that he, God forbid, would not put mustard on oysters at a dinner table.

"I presume that consumption of oysters was not your main task abroad," I said. "What did you do in the line of your, so to say, direct duties?"

"The same thing as all my colleagues abroad," answered my interlocutor. "I collected political information needed by our government for their political decision-making. You understand, I cannot go into details of the methods, technology, and specifics of my work. But if you have read even one book unmasking the CIA, you can easily imagine many aspects of Soviet intelligence work, since our special services are not that different from the Western ones, except that they have more money..."

We started talking about intelligence. My interlocutor stated, based on his Near East experience as well as on his work at the center, that this service also has many people who entered it not on the basis of personal qualifications, but because of personal connections.

"Can you imagine that the same Abel, or Molodyy, or Zorge, would strive to be assigned abroad and to stay there as long as possible so that... they could earn hard currency, buy clothes for themselves and the whole family, bring back to the USSR video equipment and a car, etc.? You would agree that this is hard to believe even for someone with a most fertile imagination. Well, I used to know dozens of our contemporary intelligence officers whose main goal was exactly that. I can name a multitude of examples. Rashidov's son and son-in-law, Aliyev's son and son-in-law, children, sons-in-law, grandchildren, nephews, and other relatives of the military-industrial and party-state republic and all-Union elites. In my opinion, we had quite a few such people who did not belong there, in our residency. The center also had its share of them. They were among our leadership. Sometimes there was all out deception. The resident sometimes concealed from the center the information we obtained because it differed from his own concept of current events. The people at the center, for the same reason, did not always maintain integrity in processing the information we passed to them and in writing reports for their superiors; judging by some indications, distorted information—or, if we call it by its proper name, disinformation—sometimes reached the

highest echelons of power. Thus it turns out that sometimes our intelligence, instead of ensuring the interests of the state, provided the kind of information that corresponded to the social-political orders of the highest party brass."

I asked my interlocutor about the validity of the rumors that Soviet intelligence had advance knowledge of the planned mass murder of Palestinian refugees in Sabra and Shatila (this information was not used to avert the massacre). He replied that he personally had not received such information, but, as an intelligence officer, he knew that such information had indeed existed, but the resident had not thought it reliable and therefore had not dared to inform the center.

"I will say even more," he continued. "Up to the last day the resident did not think it expedient to evacuate dependents of the Soviet diplomatic community, authoritatively stating that according to his information the armed conflict in Lebanon in the summer of 1982 was local and therefore did not present any danger. Meanwhile, the resident himself hastily packed his personal belongings into huge cardboard boxes and hid them in the embassy basement, that doubled as a bomb shelter. Only when Israeli tanks were approaching Beirut were Soviet women and children loaded in haste (quite justifiable then, by the way) onto a Soviet freighter that by some miracle had lingered in the port..."

"I know enough about the level of performance at the center then," the former intelligence officer said. "I only want to mention one thing right now. The man at the center who was in charge of directing us and who, after my first year abroad, proposed my recall, in the final count turned out to be... an ordinary traitor who, on his own, had offered his services to the CIA in the seventies, was recruited, and from that time worked for American intelligence. In the mid-eighties he was unmasked, tried, and sentenced to the highest measure of punishment..."

"Soviet intelligence officers are ruined not by money—or, rather—by its absence," maintained my interlocutor. "And not even by life in the Soviet Union that spills into their immediate surroundings that, believe me, for most of my former colleagues are not worse, but not much better than for the average Soviet citizen. I think they are ruined by the Soviet reality and the fear inherent to it that is passed from generation to generation: The fear of committing an error and of being punished for it. Or being punished for an error committed by the center and then blamed on the field officer, there have been quite a few instances of that!"

"I do not wish to justify even in the slightest the actions of intelligence officers who turned traitor, but I am certain that when they reached that fatal decision this fear factor was far from the least consideration. Quite often an intelligence officer stops thinking creatively, showing initiative, if you wish, because he knows that the center likes the obedient ones, not the creative ones.

"That is why," continued the former intelligence officer, "the residency, at least the one in Lebanon, dared to deceive the center; sometimes it was in small things, but sometimes it involved major actions... For instance, after the 1982 war ended, the top leadership of the residency in Lebanon asked for the center's permission to write off more than ten passenger cars, ostensibly destroyed during the hostilities. The center approved, and the cars were written off and then... sold to locals, because in reality they had not been destroyed. Perhaps nowadays this situation would be considered a manifestation of entrepreneurship, of market relations, etc., but at that time, when the residency leadership behaved like a crooked sales clerk from a produce market, skimming the money received from the sale of the cars, it just looked like a bazaar."

"Do you know what the money went for?"

"Of course I do. All our people knew. Mainly to buy gifts for the center's big brass, and to fulfill their orders and errands: 'Send me 10 cans of olive oil.' 'Buy my future grandson a musical potty—I saw it in such-and-such supermarket.' 'Send a gift on occasion of such-and-such department chief's jubilee.' All these orders went to the Near East by courier mail, through the communication channels used by our intelligence. And all these potties, strollers, and other goodies went to the Soviet Union with a special messenger—an intelligence officer! Another kind of 'unforeseen expense'—entertaining visiting dignitaries from the USSR and party delegations. Here, again, it was necessary to resort to 'little financial tricks.'"

"???"

"Why are you surprised?" my interlocutor shrugs. "The KGB, closed to outsiders' eyes, is suffering from the same ills as our whole society. Foreign intelligence—the most elite and the most closed part of the KGB—suffers from the same ills as the entire state security, only, I think in a more grave form."

We went back to 1984, when my interlocutor's foreign intelligence career ended. He came to Moscow on vacation, and never returned abroad, was not even permitted to go collect his belongings, complete unfinished business left hanging in mid-sentence, or even pay back loans (he finally managed to accomplish this sometime later through his own colleagues).

"What do you think: Who was punished for all these, let us call them properly, financial transgressions I told you about?" he asks. "I was punished for grave violations of the high moral principles of chekist ethics: modesty, integrity, and honesty."

...The internal investigation took a year. And although the final document says that "there were no mercenary motives in the actions of Comrade ..., and the transgressions were committed with the knowledge of his superiors," my interlocutor was discharged from the state security organs with the rank of major. It should be

added that for four years after that the primary party organization (he had refused to transfer his registration from his original unit, although, quite obviously, he was no longer permitted to attend meetings and being unemployed met his party secretary outside on the street to pay his monthly 3 kopek party dues) tried to expel him from the party and finally succeeded in it.

After that the former senior operative faced the same thing that is experienced by any citizen of our country who has been unjustly, in his own view, fired from his job, and sanctioned by the party, and has decided to fight for the restoration of justice: exercises in epistolary genre. The former intelligence officer wrote letters to all the addresses anybody in his situation writes letters to: to his former highest-ranking bosses, that is, the KGB leadership; to the CPSU Central Committee; to the CPSU Control Commission; to the general secretary; and to the 19th Party Conference. He received almost identical replies from all of these people with warm hearts, cool heads, and clean consciences: Everything was done correctly, there is no reason to reopen the case. He decided not to write to the 28th Party Congress; this time he simply left his party card—he still had not turned in—in the Central Committee visitors room on Staraya Square after the congress ended...

I asked how he, a man with three college degrees, speaking foreign languages, and with practical experience in the secret special services, a father of two, earns his daily bread.

"At first, right after they kicked me out of the KGB into the street," he explains, "I, a reservist officer, started to make the rounds of the employment bureaus in the capital. Not a single personnel inspector would let me as much as cross the threshold of his enterprise or organization after reading in my application the formulation that I personally had written (they would have found out anyway): 'Discharged for discrediting the honorable name of the chekist officer.' So I started fixing apartments, building dachas, repairing cars (thank goodness I know how to do that), and I did not feel humiliated by such labor. Now I work as a consultant, helping some newly formed enterprises with my ideas, and I make more than enough to support my family."

"Still," I asked, "why you? Why were you punished for something that was the norm for the entire residency where you worked abroad, for things you were ordered to do by your superiors in Moscow?"

My interlocutor contemplated the question for a while, then shrugged:

"Who else could they punish—the generals? Please understand me correctly: I am not saying that I am good and everybody else is bad. There were several great guys working with me in the residency. Perhaps they had more of what is called 'officer material,' the ability to obey superiors' orders without questioning, no matter what kind of orders they might be. I also obeyed without a word in everything related to my immediate job as an

intelligence officer. But when this thing with the sale of cars which had been written off came up (I categorically refused to authorize it, although registration of all cars in the Soviet community there was part of my vice consul duties), or things related to all these gifts for the superiors, or issuing visas without grounds—I did resist, and so I stood out. Eventually I had to comply anyway... All of this, quite naturally, irritated my immediate superiors, and some of my colleagues in the residency, as well as at the center."

"Will you regret our conversation?" I asked my guest, shaking his hand.

"I do not regret anything," he said. "I have nothing to lose. I have refused severance pay; I have no pension—not only of a general but even of a major; they can only take away my two medals and two departmental decorations called 'The Chairman's Gratitude.' Besides, at the end of last year I told everything I told you today to the closed session of the USSR Supreme Soviet Commission on Preferences and Privileges, where I had been invited to testify. I am only worried about the safety of my wife and children. In cases like that we usually create a little private insurance. I have one, too..."

...The former intelligence officer left. "Who is he?" I kept thinking. "Another lonely hero, throwing himself on another barricade?"

Oh, how I would like to believe that all the things the senior operative and I talked about are indeed in the past, considering the fact that the KGB "old guard" is leaving, and that new people are joining the organization. Will they bring with them new moral principles?

INSTEAD OF COMMENTARY

The current problems that are under consideration by the USSR Supreme Soviet Commission on Preferences and Privileges, involved not only the KGB, but also in equal degree the Ministry of Internal Affairs, and foreign trade organizations that to this day have the opportunity to spend, uncontrolled, state funds for purposes that are quite removed from state interests. That is why we consider as our great victory the amendment to Article 34 of the USSR Constitution, that says any state privileges should be spelled out by law, and should not transcend the boundaries set by the law. Let us hope that this amendment will to a certain degree stand in the way of uncontrollable spending of budget funds by the representatives of the most uncontrollable "risk zone"—the KGB, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and the foreign trade organizations.

As to the story related by the former KGB intelligence officer at the recent closed session of the USSR Supreme Soviet Commission on Preferences and Privileges, it should be noted that we intend to follow up on this information very seriously. Therefore right now it is premature to talk about specific persons using intelligence services for their own (far removed from those of the state) goals.

N. Kozyrev, USSR people's deputy, deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Commission on Preferences and Privileges

Economic

President Gorbachev Signs 1991 Union Budget Law
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16 Jan 91 Union Edition p 4

[USSR Law on the Union Budget for 1991 signed by President Mikhail Gorbachev at the Kremlin in Moscow on 11 January]

[Text] The demarcation of powers between the USSR and the components of the federation has required the abandonment of the formation of the USSR state budget as the budget of the country's entire national economy. The Union budget for 1991 is formed as the budget of a federal state and is oriented toward the stabilization of the economy, the introduction of market relations, and the implementation of the tasks necessary to ensure the minimum necessary level of requirements of the doctrine of sufficient defense capability of the country.

Chapter I. General Provisions

Article 1. It is stipulated that the Union budget income for 1991 is formed from:

- payments from taxes on the profits of enterprises, associations, and organizations other than those belonging to the local economy, from taxes on the profits of foreign legal entities arising from activity in the USSR, and from income tax;
- 100 percent of customs duties and export and import tax;
- rents from oil and gas industry enterprises;
- 50 percent of payments from the sale of State Internal Prize Loan bonds, 1982 issue;
- a five-percent sales tax on the sale of products, goods, and services, with payment of at least 50 percent of the tax revenue into the Union budget;
- other nontax revenue from the activity of enterprises, associations, and organizations under Union management;
- funds transferred from the republics' budgets for the financing of statewide programs.

In the event that the republics adopt, within their competence, legislation that reduces tax revenue paid into the Union budget, the republics compensate for such losses in absolute sums under the procedure adopted for mutual settlements between budgets.

Article 2. It is stipulated that Union budget funds are channeled in 1991 into ensuring the functioning and development of sectors of the national economy that are under the administration of Union organs; financing the most important fundamental research and scientific and

technical developments and social, cultural, and ecological programs of Unionwide significance and the country's defense; creating the necessary financial reserves, and other expenditure of statewide significance.

Chapter II. Union Budget Income

Article 3. The Union budget for 1991 is to be approved in terms of income in the sum of 250,157,450,000 rubles [R].

Article 4. The Union budget takes account of revenue from the following sources of income:

	(thousand rubles)
tax on profits from enterprises, associations, and organizations	40,460,000
sales tax	36,000,000
income from foreign economic activity	86,334,950
rents	16,500,000
payments from sales of State Internal Prize Loan bonds, 1982 issue	1,074,500
duties and various nontax income	16,436,000
income from revaluation of assets in commodities and materials	9,000,000
payments for geological prospecting and geological survey work	2,700,000
funds transferred from republics' budgets for financing statewide programs	41,652,000

Article 5. The ceiling on the Union budget deficit for 1991 is set at the sum of R26,663,149,000.

Article 6. With a view to covering the budget deficit for 1991, the USSR Government and the republic governments are to adopt decisions on the issuing of state internal loans and other securities to an agreed value, and on the procedure for their sale.

Funds from the sale of the said bonds and securities are to be paid in equal shares into the Union budget and the republics' budgets.

Article 7. It is stipulated that from 1 January 1991 tax on owners of means of transport and other self-propelled vehicles and machines is to be paid into the income of local budgets.

Public motor transport enterprises are exempt from payment of the tax for means of transport which carry passengers.

In this connection, the following amendments are to be made to the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium Decree of 21 March 1988 "On Taxation on Owners of Means of Transport and Other Self-Propelled Vehicles and Machines" (VEDOMOSTI VERKHOVNOGO SOVETA SSSR, 1988, No. 12, p 186):

In Article 3, the words "Union budget income" are to be replaced by "income of local budgets";

Subsection "a" in Article 6 is to read as follows:

"a) public motor transport enterprises for means of transport which carry passengers."

Article 8: The operation of Chapter VI (with the exception of Article 26) of the USSR Law "On Taxes on Enterprises, Associations, and Organizations" and Point 5 of the USSR Supreme Soviet Resolution "On the Procedure for Bringing Into Force the USSR Law 'On Taxes on Enterprises, Associations, and Organizations'" is to be suspended for 1991.

The USSR Government is granted the right to clarify the said procedure for determining the extent of funds channeled into consumption for individual sectors of the national economy and industry where there are changes in the objective conditions of economic activity: conversion of military production; changes in mining, geological, natural, and climatic conditions and schedules for energy consumption and deliveries of output by pipeline transport; commissioning and assimilation of new enterprises (facilities); implementation of the transfer of construction organizations and enterprises from industrial construction projects to projects in the social sphere and the agro-industrial complex; and also for enterprises using the labor of disabled people and people with a limited capacity for work; where centralized measures to improve the people's living standard and measures relating to the provision of assistance to families of people killed and persons suffering disablement or occupational diseases at work are implemented; and where payments are made in connection with social protection of the working people.

In order to link the amount of resources to be channeled into consumption to the production volumes, it is established that in 1991 these resources are to be determined for all enterprises and organizations, irrespective of the form of ownership, on a one-to-one basis, depending on the growth (reduction) of the volume of commodity production (work, services) compared with the previous year, in comparable prices.

The USSR Government is to be granted the right to clarify indicators and the procedure for determining the amount of resources to be channeled into consumption for individual sectors.

When issuing resources in 1991 to be channeled into consumption, banking institutions are to monitor enterprises' and organizations' compliance with the procedure established by this article of the present Law.

Chapter III. Union Budget Expenditure

Article 9. The Union budget for 1991 is to be approved in terms of expenditure in the sum of R276,820,599,000.

Article 10. Appropriations to finance the national economy are to be set at the sum of R45,742,001,000, of which:

- a) R34,195,427,000 will be used to compensate for the different prices of agricultural products and certain types of foodstuffs sold to all-Union consumers and of certain types of raw material commodities;
- b) R2,700,000,000 will be channeled into geological prospecting and survey work;
- c) R8,846,574,000 will be used for other national economic expenditure.

Article 11. Appropriations are to be approved to finance sociocultural measures in the sum of R19,645,057,000, of which:

- a) R5,431,759,000 are to be channeled into public education and vocational training of cadres;
- b) R3,204,427,000 are to be channeled into health services and physical education;
- c) R459,196,000 are to be channeled into culture and art;
- d) R1,656,875,000 are to be channeled into the mass media;
- e) R8,892,800,000 are to be channeled into the implementation of mother and child care measures, the payment of pensions for certain categories of citizens, and other measures.

Article 12. Appropriations to finance fundamental scientific research and state scientific-technical programs are to be set at R14,472,762,000.

Article 13. Appropriations to finance expenditure on granting credits to foreign states, to pay off foreign credits, and to perform other credit operations in the foreign market are to be set at R26,329,673,000.

Article 14. Appropriations to give free aid to foreign states are to be set at R400,000,000.

Article 15. Appropriations for the maintenance of Army and Navy personnel, purchase of armaments and military equipment, scientific research and planning and design on military topics, military construction, payment of pensions and implementation of a program to improve servicemen's social security, and other defense expenditure are to be set at R96,562,846,000.

Article 16. Appropriations to implement centralized measures to improve the population's well-being are to be set at R972,000,000.

Article 17. Appropriations are to be determined in the sum of R194,901,000 for the maintenance of the USSR Supreme Soviet.

Article 18. Appropriations for the maintenance of the USSR Constitutional Oversight Committee are to be set at R3,672,000.

Article 19. Appropriations for the maintenance of the USSR Monitoring Chamber are to be set at R5,431,000.

Article 20. Appropriations for the maintenance of the USSR Supreme Arbitration Court are to be set at R1,760,000.

Article 21. Appropriations for the maintenance of the USSR Supreme Court are to be set at R2,563,000 and for special courts at R5,602,000.

Article 22. Appropriations for the maintenance of USSR Prosecutor's Office organs are to be set at R475,529,000.

Article 23. Appropriations for the maintenance of the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs are to be set at R5,602,500,000.

Article 24. Appropriations for the maintenance of the USSR KGB are to be set at R4,948,649,000 of which R2,200,000,000 are to be used for the maintenance of border troops.

Article 25. Appropriations for the maintenance of the Union executive and administrative organs of state power and organs of state management (apart from those indicated in Articles 17, 18, 19, and 20 of this Law) are to be set at a maximum of R1,696,250,000.

The USSR president shall submit for the approval of the USSR Supreme Soviet an itemized departmental allocation of the aforementioned sum to take into account the structural changes in the management of state and economic building.

Article 26. Appropriations for expenditure on servicing the state domestic debt are to be set at R11,806,000,000.

The USSR Government proposal is to be adopted on deferring until 1 January 1996 the repayment of the free credit resources from the state loan fund totaling R10,200,000,000 borrowed to meet USSR state budget expenditure in 1989 and 1988 and whose repayment falls due in 1991.

Article 27. Appropriations for the financing of the following targeted programs are to be approved:

- for eliminating the after-effects of the accident at the Chernobyl nuclear electric power station—R10,314,000,000;

- for restoring the ecological situation and improving living conditions for the population of the Aral Sea region—R900,000,000, of which R135,000,000 are to come from extrabudgetary sources;

- and for implementing priority measures connected with the return of the Crimean Tatars to Crimea Oblast—R200,000,000.

Article 28. A USSR president's reserve fund totaling R3,000,000,000 is to be provided in the Union budget, of which R2,000,000,000 is to be used to meet emergency situations.

Article 29. Appropriations for other measures under the jurisdiction of Union organs totaling R25,774,403,000 are to be approved.

Article 30. Appropriations totaling R7,900,000,000 are to be approved for compensation to social consumers for the rise in prices due to the introduction of the sales tax.

Chapter IV. Special Provisions

Article 31. The ceiling on the state domestic debt for 1 January 1992 is to be set at R567,563,149,000.

Article 32. The ceiling on the USSR's foreign debt on 1 January 1992 in freely convertible currency shall be set at R39,000,000,000 (at the USSR State Bank official exchange rate).

Article 33. The USSR Ministry of Finances is instructed to specify the amount of resources received by the budget from revaluing the residue of commodities and material assets in connection with the reform of wholesale and purchase prices based on the actual residue of commodities and material assets at 1 January 1991.

Article 34. It is established that the USSR State Bank, the republics' central banks, and commercial banks bear responsibility for ensuring the prompt and correct payment of revenue to the Union budget in accordance with the present Law. In the event of the nonfulfillment or systematic violation of the distribution of incomes according to types of budget as laid down by Union legislation, leaders of bank institutions, services, and subdivisions shall be subject to dismissal and pay two months salary as compensation for the damage caused. M. Gorbachev, president of the USSR
The Kremlin, Moscow, 11 January 1991

Scientific

Nazarbayev Views Future of Space Program

LD1501101991 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 1800 GMT 14 Jan 91

[Report by correspondent A. Gerasimov from Baykonur Cosmodrome; from the "Vremya" program]

[Text] [Announcer] About three hours ago a Progress spacecraft was launched. It will deliver essential cargo to Viktor Afanasyev and Musa Manarov to enable them to continue their tour of duty in space. A report from our correspondent:

[Gerasimov] If the fate of democracy in the country is at present being decided in the Baltic republics, the future of our space program is to a great extent being determined here at Baykonur today. Kazakhstan's adoption of a state sovereignty declaration came as a surprise to the whole space industry—Kazakhstan is where the huge cosmodrome enterprise is located. The arrival at Baykonur of President Nazarbayev of Kazakhstan which was timed to coincide with today's Progress launch—Progress is already in orbit, by the way—was motivated by quite specific reasons. In accordance with the sovereignty declaration, sovereign Kazakhstan henceforth enters into agreed relations with all departments located on its territory. From Nazarbayev's address at a news conference held in the town of Leninsk today, it emerged clearly that the time has come to repay the debts incurred a few decades ago. Rent for the more than half a million

hectares of land occupied by the cosmodrome and the huge areas in the fall-out zone for used rocket stages could cost the Union space industry a tidy sum. The problems of alienation of the historic Kazakh lands themselves could also be high on the list. The republican leaders and the space department, however, seem to have found a common language.

[Begin Nazarbayev recording] We have already stepped up direct contacts, and the scientific and technical potential of the cosmodrome will work directly toward resolving some of Kazakhstan's problems, such as space communications, space television, the study of natural resources and the weather. These are all, I think, practical steps toward rapprochement and transfer to mutually beneficial bases. [end recording]

[Gerasimov] These are, of course, the first signs of future cooperation between the monster Union department and the republican authorities. Probably not everything has been taken into account; there are clear omissions; in particular, practically no account is taken of the interests of the military, yet they are in the majority here. Nevertheless, the groundwork for normal coexistence has been laid, and it could become an example of the constructive solution, with no excesses, of issues arising in our difficult times.

Military

Commander Comments on Tank Explosion in CSFR

LD1201032291 Moscow TASS International Service
in Russian 0955 GMT 11 Jan 91

["Commander of Central Group of Forces on Circumstances of Deaths of Soviet Servicemen in CSFR on 9 January"—TASS Headline]

[Summary] Prague, 11 Jan (TASS)—As reported earlier, a T-72 tank with its combat equipment was blown up on 9 January in the hamlet of Bogosudov in North Bohemia, where a Soviet military unit was stationed. This led to the deaths of 17 servicemen, including three officers. Six of the victims are hospitalized. Their lives are out of danger.

Colonel General Eduard Vorobyev, commander of the Central Group of Forces, said an investigation has begun. "Ammunition will be removed from all tanks and taken away by separate vehicles," Vorobyev said. There is no threat to local residents.

Article Examines Defense Ministry's Land Use

PM1101114591 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
11 Jan 91 Second Edition p 3

[Article by I. Ancheyev, sector chief of the USSR People's Control Committee, and M. Silvanovich, leading inspector of the USSR People's Control Commission: "The Land Behind the Barrier: 42 Million Hectares of 'Army Land.' How is it Being Used?"]

[Text] Remember how Yedigey, the old Kazakh in Chingiz Aytmatov's novel "Blizzard Halt," [English edition titled: "The Day Lasts More Than a Hundred Years"] took the body of his dead friend to the family cemetery. On the way he came across a barrier, and beyond the barrier was a military installation, a space center. The sentries stopped the funeral procession and the situation reached a spiritual climax. Yedigey, forced to bury his friend out in the steppe, spoke over the grave words which had the ring of a magic oath: "I shall not let this matter rest..."

Discussion is now centering on the territories allocated to the USSR Defense Ministry. Seeing that today not only the people but also the legislature have begun discussing the question of land as a special asset with an unprecedented air of urgency, then it is time to ask: How much of our country's land lies beyond the barriers, is the return from it high, and what kind of land is it in terms of agricultural or other economic utility?

All in all, the Ministry of Defense accounts for 42 million hectares of land if you disregard the 22 million hectares that are used periodically without actually being taken away from kolkhozes [collective farms], sovkhoses [state farms], and forestry reserves, for example during the launching of space rockets. That is 2 percent of the country's entire land stock. Admittedly, over 70 percent of army lands lie in regions where agriculture is either difficult or impossible.

Let us clarify a fact of no small importance: The Defense Ministry maintains and operates over 30 million hectares of state test ranges (out of the 42 million) which are also used by science and the defense sectors of industry. Incidentally, the equivalent ranges in the United States are maintained by the state or the departments which use them.

Some 10 million hectares are set aside for the deployment of troops and their combat training. Is that a lot or not? Let us compare: The U.S. Department of Defense has over 11 million hectares of land for the permanent deployment of troops, airfields, training grounds, headquarters, and bases.

The barrier and the blank space on the map—those are the characteristics of our military territories. The planned measures of civilian land agencies do not apply to them, as a rule they are surrounded by an aura of secrecy. However, in the Army—just as anywhere else—there cannot be forms which are set for all time. The lands at the disposal of the USSR Armed Forces, particularly those in the central, western, and southern regions of the country, were largely allocated between the twenties and the fifties. Much has changed since then, armaments have changed, the nature of the dispersal and operation of military formations is altering. The only thing that has remained constant and immutable is the condition that it was necessary to carry out a systematic

inventory of lands and bring the scale of the land territories being used into line with what is actually necessary.

Of late, greater attention has finally begun to be paid to this work in military districts and fleets. As a result, 500,000 hectares of fertile lands have reverted to the national economy in the last 10 years. The image of the space center created by the famous writer and of those impregnable barriers seems somewhat anachronistic to us personally today. For example, we checked and found out that, out of the 670,000 hectares of lands placed under the permanent "control" of Baykonur, that self-same space center, over 300,000 hectares are being used by the local population to pasture their herds and procure feed...

To cut a long story short, what we are witnessing is the conversion of... army lands. Each year 3.5 million hectares of army land are transferred to kolkhozes and sovkhozes for temporary use. In addition, 83 military sovkhozes and 9,000 subsidiary farms belonging to military units, organizations, and institutions have been created on USSR Defense Ministry land. They occupy around 1 million hectares.

There are 36 military forestry reserves and 84 separate military forestry plantations operating on an area of 5.8 million hectares which produce 650,000 cubic meters of timber a year for the needs of military units, enterprises, and organizations...

All this is very good. But we repeat: Land is a great asset of the people. Like any asset, it must be strictly accounted for.

That is what happens when you can demand of the owner of the barrier: Show me your documents!

Putting it bluntly, there is no universal readiness to present those documents. In the Turkestan Military District, for example, 40 percent of land users did not have those documents with them when a spot check was carried out, while in the North Caucasus district the figure was 20 percent. Or take the Crimea, where the land question is very acute right now and where the Army and the Navy occupy almost 100,000 hectares or 4 percent of the entire territory. In Simferopolskiy and Feodosiyskiy Rayons only 32 out of 116 allotments have state documents.

But who in the Armed Forces has the duty of registering and monitoring the use of lands? The billeting and maintenance organs. We were immediately struck by the glaring shortage of land management engineers on the staff of those services. Nationally there are 25 VUZ's [higher education establishments] training specialists in this field and producing 1,200-1,300 graduates a year. Some 70 percent of VUZ's have military departments. We think that the USSR Defense Ministry Main Directorate for Cadres, working through the USSR State Committee for Public Education, should recruit at least a minimum number of land management engineers to the staffs of the billeting and maintenance services.

Unfortunately the land manager does not even figure on the Defense Ministry's roster of military accounting disciplines.

It is amazing but true that in the military department's main and central directorates, the solution of questions of land allocation and registration is entrusted to officers specializing in other areas. In the military districts and fleets only one billeting and maintenance unit in four has land managers and, because of the job's low pay, even those places that do have them either are not fully staffed or are staffed by workers lacking the appropriate education. The USSR Defense Ministry Main Billeting and Maintenance Directorate, which is cutting staff, has almost halved the land utilization group, leaving just three people.

So this is the result: The Defense Ministry has large "estates" but maintains them without adequate professional supervision.

In Kazakhstan one military unit with 4.3 million hectares at its disposal uses them for their designated purpose on average 20-30 days a year. However, the question of transferring them to agricultural organs for permanent use has not been examined for a long time. Some 35,000 hectares have been removed from the Defense Ministry airfield network though they have not completely reverted to the national economy...

In brief, military organs face acute questions now. Districts and military units have already been given instructions and orders to carry out a comprehensive technical inventory of land and establish even closer contacts with the local authorities in the use of territories. To ensure that the mass of small scattered plots of land which are no longer needed are transferred to collective horticulture, as local soviets see fit. Perhaps then there will finally be a reduction in the stream of letters and complaints to various state organs and the mass media claiming that there is an incalculable amount of ownerless land while the problem of allocating a few hundredths of a hectare of land to an orchard or for the construction of a house remains insoluble.

It is worth recalling that this problem is just as acute for military servicemen and retired officers as for anyone else. Many of them move home several times during their service lives, and everywhere they go they have to stand in line for housing and for an allotment, and often end up rootless. Today this problem is aggravated further still by the fact that sizeable contingents of troops from East Europe will have to be and already are being stationed in the USSR.

The new land law is built on the principles of ecologization. Serious problems may occur here, given the present level of use of army allotments. Often land is polluted by oil, fuel, and the remains of various types of construction, and thus even the hopes of restoring those lands to agricultural use are dashed for a long time to come. Around 5,000 tonnes of special scrap metal has accumulated at the 2.4-million hectare Baykonur cosmodrome

site alone, and creates a considerable obstacle to the implementation of agricultural measures. On its own initiative, the cosmodrome command began collecting and using that scrap metal. But the question is: Why is this only being done for the first time now, after more than 30 years of space missions there?

There is special concern at the continuing pollution of the area by rocket fuel residue from the first stages of certain types of rocket.

The specialists who service the space hardware have long been asking scientists and industry to create booster rockets which release the minimum quantity of separable sections, to optimize the amount of fuel, and to switch to engines with ecologically clean fuel.

Now a few words on payment for land. It does not need to be said just how topical this question is today.

Of course one must pay for the use of land. But to whom and how much? Surely it is hardly fair to place the military in the same category as all taxpayers—their taxes cannot be recouped, they will be paid out of the state budget eventually. It is no coincidence that in many countries—the United States, the FRG, and France—the army does not pay for the use of state lands.

However, our "parade of sovereignties" is taking place to the muted accompaniment of anticenter sentiments being expressed by certain republics in both civilian and military fields. In the draft land codes, not a single republic includes the USSR Ministry of Defense in the list of departments that enjoy tax benefits. And we do not yet know the sum to which defense spending will escalate if the way the amount of the payment is determined proves excessively commercialized. In our view, this could become an obstacle to adopting the USSR Law on Defense.

On the threshold of the new year, the legislative Committee for Defense and State Security Questions was examining the country's draft defense budget. The draft made no provision for payment for land, but, whether we want it or not, this payment can comprise a significant part of the budget.

But what will it be? Common sense can be perceived in one of the proposed options, which is geared to a differentiated approach to price fixing. It is important to enshrine in it a mechanism which could restrict the development of appetites for excessive scales of land use.

Clearly, there must be one payment for training grounds and airfields, and another for apartment blocks and dachas. And may any department pay the highest possible price for mismanagement.

Baltic Affairs**Lithuania****Landsbergis Reviews Discussions With Gorbachev***LD1401104791 Kaunas Radio Kaunas in Lithuanian
0910 GMT 14 Jan 91*

[Statement by Lithuania Supreme Council Chairman Vytautas Landsbergis at Supreme Council session in Vilnius—live]

[Text] I have spoken with Mikhail Gorbachev. We exchanged some opinions. I lodged Lithuania's protest against the bloody events in Vilnius.

The most important thing is that there are two constructive matters: he promised to issue orders to the Armed Forces not to prevent entry into the occupied buildings by our Health Minister, Olekas, and to check whether there are any remaining injured or other civilians needing help.

The other matter of a constructive meeting with him or his persons authorized by him was finally solved very simply: the commission that has arrived on the president's instructions. I think that it will greatly help to solve problems by talking to the representatives of the Soviet president in Lithuania.

So much about this conversation which, of course, was longer and had more content.

Now I would like to discuss the political situation that has been developing in the last few days which is formed, unfortunately, by tragic events that required human sacrifices.

On the one hand, a real confrontation or conflict becomes apparent when one endeavors to explain something that is not clear: allegedly, that there are internal conflicts and confrontations in Lithuania and this is destabilizing the situation in society. We clearly see that the confrontation is an interstate one, that it is a confrontation between Lithuania and the Soviet Union which has entered the 51st year of its history. God willing, this could be the last year of this interstate confrontation, the year of a conflict between states where a great state has wronged a small state in the worst possible way.

But we must also help this great state to come out of this situation of inherited crime, although we see that it is not easy for it to do so without committing new crimes, as it did from midnight yesterday.

One of the problems we are going to discuss here today is the deliberate disinformation spread by the official information media of that state used as a weapon to cover up murders.

We are going to encounter and are already encountering such problems as an attempt to set up anonymous

self-styled alternative government structures. This destructive effort has completely discredited itself, just like its people. We see the influence of the events in Lithuania on the course of events in the Soviet Union, on the relations between the central authorities and the republics. The result will be much more important than we see today. Of course, this is an internal matter for that country, but the consolidation is taking place on this level, too, with the Baltic states and the Soviet republics supporting their self-determination.

Two documents adopted yesterday are of very great importance: an appeal to the UN secretary general signed by the chairmen of the Supreme Councils of the Baltic states and the chairman of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet, as well as a joint statement about mutual recognition and mutual aid when some illegal forces attempt to overthrow a legal state.

These documents were signed thanks to the modern means of communication. We are able to exchange texts and transmit signatures. I have not left Vilnius, and Anatolijs Gorbunovs, Arnold Ruutel and Boris Yeltsin were meeting in Tallinn. You must have heard already about a great wave of indignation these days in Western states and in the organizations of Western states where the Lithuanian problem and the events in Lithuania were discussed. It has been examined at a NATO meeting, raised in the European Community, and is being raised at the United Nations—not only by Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia, and Russia, but also by Iceland and the Nordic countries. If this is supported by one of the three great powers—the United States, Great Britain, or France—this problem will be examined by the Security Council.

It is a great pity that such a high price must be paid for going over to a higher stage of understanding and resolving international problems. It is a great pity, but such is the world.

In concluding this statement I would like to link the events in Lithuania and Vilnius, the murder of innocent people, with the changes taking place in the world in front of our eyes. Things are changing a little, and this is very difficult. But it is happening. Therefore I would like to say to the relatives of those who lost their lives: you must know that this sacrifice was not in vain.

Landsbergis in Exchange With Army Commander*LD1501164191 Moscow TASS in English 1546 GMT
15 Jan 91*

[Text] Vilnius January 15 TASS—"It is necessary to maintain continuous contacts with the military and do everything to prevent more casualties," Vytautas Landsbergis told the Lithuanian parliament here today.

No one doubts the need for such contacts. Reality suggests this as the only workable way.

Landsbergis told the parliament that Vilnius Military Commander Vladimir Uskopchikov had telephoned him on Tuesday morning, "motivated by fear," to tell Landsbergis that "our sharp shooters were located in the block of flats surrounding the television tower." Landsbergis told the parliament it was not true, as "none of our armed people are there."

Landsbergis said it is painful and alarming that "defenders of the installation may still remain inside the television tower, blocked in air-tight rooms" and alleged that some kind of "drilling work" was going on there.

He stressed that "the lawfully elected parliament and government are in control of the situation in the republic." However, he said "the danger of the seizure of the parliament" still remained. This is why he recommended people to gather en masse before the parliament building in the daytime. During the night, he said, it was desirable to have "fewer people" there in order to avoid violence.

Landsbergis also said "occupation troops are looting the buildings they have occupied and taking away the equipment." He did not elaborate.

Deputy Chairman of the parliament Kazimieras Motieka proposed adopting a resolution, stripping deputies from the "criminal organisation of the Soviet Communist Party" of their deputy immunity.

Further on Contacts With Military

*LD1501155591 Moscow TASS International Service
in Russian 1335 GMT 15 Jan 91*

[By TASS correspondent]

[Text] Vilnius, 15 Jan (TASS)—"It is necessary to maintain contacts with the military all the time, do everything possible so that the number of victims does not increase," said Vytautas Landsbergis, chairman of the Supreme Soviet of the Lithuanian Republic, who spoke at the session of the republican Supreme Soviet.

Nobody doubts the need for such contacts, especially not when it is precisely this road that reality makes us take. The head of the parliament said then that this morning he was phoned by Major General Vladimir Uskopchikov, commandant of Vilnius, and, in Landsbergis' words, "full of fear," said that there are allegedly our marksmen in the houses around the TV tower. The Supreme Soviet chairman said that "this does not correspond to reality, and that there are no armed people there."

The head of the parliament spoke of the fact that "there could be defenders of this site barricaded in sealed premises of the TV tower," as a "sick and alarming phenomenon" and said that "drilling work is allegedly under way there."

The Supreme Soviet chairman stressed, that "the legally elected parliament and the government are monitoring the situation in the republic." However, according to

him, "the danger of seizure still exists." That is why he advised the population to gather in groups by the parliament building during the daytime. At night, in order to avoid new casualties, it is desirable for there to be "fewer people."

The speech also contained a claim that, allegedly, "the occupying army is looting seized premises, and taking away items from them." No specific examples have been cited.

Kazimieras Motieka, deputy chairman of the Supreme Soviet, who spoke at the session, proposed in particular that a decision is adopted on stripping "members of the criminal CPSU organization" who are in the Lithuanian Supreme Soviet of their deputies' immunity.

Landsbergis, Vagnorius Hold News Conference 15 Jan

*LD1501212191 Kaunas Radio Kaunas in Lithuanian
1840 GMT 15 Jan 91*

[News conference by Lithuanian President Vytautas Landsbergis and Lithuanian Prime Minister Gediminas Vagnorius with foreign and domestic correspondents at the Lithuanian Supreme Council building in Vilnius—live]

[Text] [Correspondent, in Russian] Does the National Salvation Committee really exist and if so, what political force does it represent?

[Landsbergis] Nobody knows anything about this committee. It is an anonymous group of people which, like any anonymous body, cannot be taken seriously. Perhaps they feel ashamed at present and cannot face appearing in public, although a period of [word indistinct] is proclaimed. They are probably from a very different period of time.

[Correspondent, in Russian] Has the situation changed at the television tower which you mentioned this morning? What happened to those sacks which you mentioned?

[Landsbergis] I have received information by telephone. A military official named Petrov—he refused to state his military rank—said that the whole tower and all the premises have been inspected and there are no defenders in the tower. I do not know whether to believe him, I only know that this information relates to your question. However, the Lithuanian Ministry of Health and Medical Workers have been unable to enter the tower. We have grounds to think that this morning there were people there who do not belong to the Soviet Army. At present the minister of health is conducting negotiations with the leaders of the military forces in Lithuania on this and other problems. I hope that eventually we will find out what is happening now, and what happened yesterday and this morning.

[Correspondent] Do you think that the nation rallied around you, carrying out very wise actions unitedly, has

proved to the commission from Moscow that it is no use pretending because our moral superiority and our decision to defend freedom are apparent. Maybe they will realize the fact that Lithuania is to be reckoned with. The second question to esteemed Vagnorius: Have you seen any constructive elements in your conversations with the military?

[Landsbergis] This question should be addressed to the delegation, but our impression was similar to yours.

[Vagnorius] We received a promise that they will not introduce anything similar to a curfew. Whether the conversation was constructive or not we will know after 2000 today.

[Correspondent, in English] We noticed that during the day the fences around this building was somewhat strengthened. Can you tell us whether this means that you have reason to believe that an attack on the building is imminent?

[Landsbergis] We know that the most dangerous moment will be the beginning of war in the Gulf. We must be ready.

[FINANCIAL TIMES correspondent, in English] What does the delegation want to do when it returns to Moscow? Have they given you any idea?

[Landsbergis] Yes, we know that first they will present their observations and conclusions to President Gorbachev. This is very important.

[Vagnorius] I understand that people in Moscow will be informed that the whole responsibility rests with the military leadership alone. We have no doubt about this and we think that President Gorbachev will not have any doubt about it, either.

[NIZHNIY NOVGOROD correspondent, in Russian] Today several statements by various Union republics and other sources were made at the Supreme Council. What is your attitude to this? Are they of any practical use of merely symbolic?

[Landsbergis] These expressions of solidarity which reach us from various parts of the world, from organizations and governments, are very important. We see a much greater unity not only among us but also in attitudes to Lithuania; a much greater understanding that Lithuania must be independent. [break in transmission] ...in Tallinn and after Tallinn. It is very important to us. Boris Yeltsin opposes the appearance of dictatorship in the USSR more strongly than anybody else. I think that all Russia and other union republics should support Yeltsin.

[Question indistinct]

[Landsbergis] About Yeltsin's arrival I can only tell you that I spoke to his close assistant, Deputy Burbulis, who once again conveyed Boris Yeltsin's words of solidarity and his hope of meeting us, explaining that this would

not be today nor tomorrow, although there was talk [of him attending] the funeral of the victims. However, because of an exceptionally complex situation Yeltsin cannot leave Moscow.

[Question indistinct]

[Landsbergis] I cannot tell you anything about this. However, I heard by telephone that night directly from where this happened—this information is documented. I was told on the telephone that there were witnesses who saw a body wrapped in bandages covered with dried blood being brought to the television and radio building. What was in the sacks we cannot tell you today. A state commission should investigate this. I am informed that a conclusion by our Procuracy has been reached: A soldier who was shot in the back, he was shot by an automatic weapon which is unobtainable in Lithuania, only the paratroopers have them.

[Correspondent] Gorbachev said just now that everyone in the Republic in possession of arms should be disarmed. When you met the military leaders, was this question raised that all arms should be handed in?

[Vagnorius] It was agreed at the end of the meeting that in Vilnius and other towns the situation should be controlled by the organs of the Lithuanian Ministry of Internal Affairs. They are responsible for arms not being used in Vilnius. We are ensuring that this happens. Another matter is, here in the Supreme Council building there are protective groups which are a natural phenomenon I think, around every Western president. The military did not raise any questions about this. They raised the question that weapons could be brought to Vilnius from other towns but they could not supply any proof that this was happening.

[Question indistinct]

[Vagnorius] [Words indistinct]

[Landsbergis] Thank you for your participation.

Landsbergis Receives Polish Deputies in Vilnius

*LD1501052591 Warsaw PAP in English 1841 GMT
14 Jan 91*

[Text] Vilnius, Jan 14—Head of the Lithuanian Supreme Soviet Vytautas Landsbergis met in the Lithuanian parliament today with Polish deputies Krzysztof Dowgiallo and Adam Michnik, and Senator Andrzej Celinski. The visit of the Polish parliamentarians is aimed at supporting the aspirations for independence of the Lithuanian people. The present developments in Vilnius are not only a tragedy of Lithuanians, it is a tragedy of the whole post-Communist Europe, Adam Michnik told PAP.

Troop Movement From Poland Denied

PM1601103191 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA
in Russian 15 Jan 91 First Edition p 3

["Own Information"—TASS untitled report]

[Text] 14 Jan—Reports have appeared in the Polish press to the effect that two divisions in full combat order had moved across Poland to Lithuania with the aim of boosting the numerical strength of troops following the institution of a military situation there. In an interview with GAZETA WYBORCZA, Brigade General Z. Ostrowski, Polish Government plenipotentiary for the stationing of Soviet troops in this country, and Lieutenant Colonel L. Olshevskiy, representative of the Soviet Government plenipotentiary, refuted this report. It was also refuted by the Polish Foreign Ministry.

Bessmertnykh: Vilnius Events Do Not Reflect Policy

LD1601095791 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian
0500 GMT 16 Jan 91

[Text] Aleksandr Aleksandrovich Bessmertnykh, the new USSR foreign minister, has granted his first interview in his new post to journalists accredited to the legislature. This is what he said about the connections between our country's foreign policy and the situation in the Baltics:

[Begin Bessmertnykh recording] The main idea I put forward during the hearings in the Supreme Soviet was that there is a certain connection between foreign policy success or failure and the events happening inside the Soviet Union. If these events support the foreign policy of the USSR it is more successful. If these events take a shape that conflicts with international law or international norms then, of course, foreign policy can only suffer as a result.

As for what happened in Vilnius, from the information I have—I do not have very much information since I have only just arrived from Washington—nevertheless from what I do know I believe events took place that give rise to the most profound regret—tragic events because human lives were lost, and that is the worst thing that can happen in any country.

The main thing is that what happened has provoked indignation and protest among the public among the leadership. I believe the same thing will not happen again. I would like to ask most earnestly everyone who is closely following the situation in the USSR to react with understanding to what has happened. It is not a reflection of the policy of the leadership; it is not a form that is welcomed by the leadership; it is not a method by which the leadership intends to act in relations with its own people and republics. So understanding, balance, and coolness in evaluating what has happened are extremely important in maintaining the level of achievements in foreign policy, the level of mutual understanding attained with many states, and not losing what has been built up. [end recording]

Federation Council Envoys Reach Agreement, Depart

LD1501203291 Moscow TASS International Service
in Russian 1925 GMT 15 Jan 91

[By TASS correspondent Kazys Ustila]

[Text] Vilnius, 15 Jan (TASS)—Boris Oleynik, member of the Council of the Federation delegation and deputy chairman of the Soviet of Nationalities of the USSR Supreme Soviet, stated that the delegation's members have done everything possible to stabilize the situation. He addressed Lithuania's legislators today.

Without specifying details, Boris Oleynik said that "certain agreement has been reached" between the republic's leadership, representatives of the military and the delegation of the Council of the Federation of the USSR. He told delegates that "a representative of the USSR president will be sent" to Lithuania, "who will work together with you at this difficult time." He called on the legislators together to overcome this grave hour, "so that not a single drop of innocent blood is shed on Lithuania's soil ever again." On behalf of the delegation Boris Oleynik expressed condolences in connection with the tragedy that has taken place.

Chairman of Lithuania's Supreme Soviet Vytautas Landsbergis noted that the delegation's members are working "constructively" and have helped to establish contact with the military authorities and determine ways of resolving complex questions.

The delegation, which has been in Lithuania since Monday, also included the heads of the legislatures of Belorussia and Armenia—Nikolay Dementey and Levon Ter-Petrosyan, and also Vladimir Foteyev, chairman of the Committee of Glasnost, Rights and Citizens' appeals of the USSR Supreme Soviet.

The delegation members left Vilnius this evening.

Oleynik Urges End to Bloodshed

LD1601111791 Moscow TASS in English 0755 GMT
16 Jan 91

[By TASS correspondent Kazys Ustila]

[Text] Vilnius January 16 TASS—Member of a delegation from the Federation Council [FC] to Lithuania Boris Oleynik, who is deputy chairman of the Soviet parliament's Council of Nationalities, told the Lithuanian parliament on Tuesday that the delegation members had done everything in their power to stabilize the situation.

Oleynik said that "a certain agreement" was reached between the leaders of the republic, representatives of the military and the delegation from the USSR Federation Council. He did not elaborate.

Oleynik said a Soviet presidential envoy would be sent to Lithuania "to work with you at this time of trial". He

called upon parliamentarians to overcome the crisis "so as not to let a drop of innocent blood be ever again spilled on Lithuanian soil".

On behalf of the delegation, Oleynik expressed condolences.

Lithuanian parliament head Vytautas Landsbergis noted that delegation members had worked constructively and helped arrange a contact with the military authorities and identify ways for solving complex problems.

Delegation members included Nikolay Dementey and Levon Ter-Petrosyan, the heads of the Byelorussian and Armenian parliaments and Vladimir Foteyev, chairman of the Soviet parliament's committee for glasnost, rights and appeals from citizens.

The delegation members left Vilnius late on Tuesday.

In an interview with Soviet television, Boris Oleynik said the Russian-speaking population of the republic, especially the families of the military, were very tense.

He also noted that "understanding was needed with regard to the Lithuanian side who are building their sovereign state".

Oleynik stressed that "sovereignty built at the expense of even the slightest infringement on the rights of other nations is not and will never be genuine sovereignty".

"Human rights should be given priority over any act by any government," Oleynik noted.

Gorbachev Envoy To Be Sent

*LD1501180491 Kaunas Radio Kaunas in Russian
1715 GMT 15 Jan 91*

[Statement by Boris Oleynik, member of the Soviet delegation with authorization from President Gorbachev, at the Lithuanian Supreme Council session in Vilnius—live]

[Excerpt] [Passage omitted] I want to tell you that we were sent here to halt the bloody clashes. The task entrusted for this period to our delegation has been fulfilled. A certain agreement has been reached: A representative of the president, who will work together with you at this complex time, will be sent here. [passage omitted]

Oleynik Calls for 'Mixed Commission'

*LD1501200791 Moscow Central Television First
Program Network in Russian 1800 GMT 15 Jan 91*

[Video report from Vilnius by I. Minayev including remarks by B. Oleynik, a deputy chairman of the Soviet of Nationalities of the USSR Supreme Soviet and member of the Council of the Federation delegation to Lithuania; from the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] [Minayev] Another night—14-15 January—has passed relatively peacefully. There is the usual bustle on the streets of Vilnius. Public transportation is not interrupted. But do not be deceived by the calm appearance of the city streets and squares. The political crisis in the republic has entered the phase of civil confrontation. Dialogue and the path to mutual understanding are necessary now as never before. Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev called on Lithuania's inhabitants yesterday to have recourse to dialogue as the only means of resolving the conflict. But the whole drama of the situation lies in the fact that there is still no drive toward dialogue. Instead of open discussions and exchange of opinions, there are threats against those who have still not lost faith in the correctness of the socialist choice and who have not handed in their party membership cards.

The telephones are ringing round the clock at the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Lithuania. There are in particular many calls from rural rayon committees. Communists are declared to be the people chiefly to blame for what has happened; they are declared enemies of the people.

Today the Committee for National Salvation and for the Protection of the Soviet Constitution called on Lithuania's legislature to heed the voice of reason and stop kindling hatred. Unfortunately the Supreme Soviet of the republic even today has not displayed willingness to participate in constructive dialogue. Angry attacks were heard in the legislature against Communist deputies. It was proposed that they be deprived of their deputies' credentials. The situation is critical. A spark is enough for the flame of internecine strife to flare up, for blood to be spilt.

Today people are in mourning in the republic for the people who died during these tragic January days. Serious concern is also aroused by the fact that there are many weapons in people's hands. The decree of the president of the USSR that weapons should be taken away is not being implemented in the view of Demidov, deputy minister of internal affairs of the USSR. Here are the facts: Over the past year the internal affairs bodies confiscated 178 firearms. This year the Internal Troops confiscated 70 items on just one January day. These include rifles with optical sights and 37,000 cartridges. These weapons were confiscated from premises belonging to the department for the protection of the kray. Butkevicius, its leader, said when addressing the Supreme Soviet session today that there are witnesses who saw soldiers carrying sacks out of the television tower building. The size and shape of the sacks make it possible for one to assume that the bags could contain the bodies of dead people. We approached the internal affairs bodies for an explanation. We were told that it was just another canard.

Building bridges of mutual understanding is a most difficult task facing the representatives of the Council of

the Federation who are in Vilnius. Today they went to the legislature and to the radio measurement instruments works.

What are your conclusions and what do you intend to report to the president?

[Oleynik] I think that we will report to the president that the situation is even more serious than expected, that the confrontation has reached the critical limit beyond which, as you see, tragic events have ensued. Naturally this will remain in the memories of both sides for a long time. But it seems to me that we have done everything possible to ensure that this does not happen again, and for the present I consider that we have carried out our task: We have established contacts between the sides which have entered into confrontation, and this corridor is now being widened. We have gained understanding for the fact that the Russian-speaking population has been subjected to tension, particularly the military families. We must also have understanding for the Lithuanian side which is building its sovereign state, and naturally problems are arising as happens in any young state. Sovereignty that is built through encroaching upon, through the slightest encroachment upon the rights of other peoples is not and never will be complete sovereignty. Everyone has to remember this. In my opinion the priority of human rights, the principle of the United Nations, has to be the paramount symbol of every action by any government or any other side. We will simply set everything out in chronological order for the president and the Supreme Soviet and I also think that a competent mixed commission must be set up at government level.

Dementey Views Delegates' Mission

*LD1401115591 Kaunas Radio Kaunas in Lithuanian
0843 GMT 14 Jan 91*

[Speech by Nikolay Ivanovich Dementey, member of the USSR Federation Council, at the Lithuanian Supreme Council Session in Vilnius—live, in Russian]

[Text] Esteemed Chairman, esteemed high assembly, esteemed deputies of the Republic of Lithuania: As you know, our four-man delegation of Supreme Soviet deputies and the two chairmen, representing the USSR Federation Council, are in the Republic of Lithuania as a result of the alarming phenomena which are taking place, and those, let us say, conflicts which have occurred. Our mission is to find a way of mediating in the talks which must be held between the disputing parties and conflicting sides, in order to halt processes which could lead, let us say, to bloodshed.

We arrived here yesterday. At the airport we all met with the airport workers who greeted us. Our conversation lasted several minutes. Then we all spent a long time at your building, working together with the chairman of the Supreme Soviet and those deputies whom you appointed to meet us. After elucidation we understood that many

questions were connected with the way in which the military should act in order to maintain security in the city of Vilnius.

We held a lengthy meeting with the military. The result was that we persuaded both sides that the Supreme Soviet and the military personnel in the area should meet and discuss all questions connected with ways of informing Lithuanian citizens and the inhabitants of the city of Vilnius that there will be no episodes of the kind that prompted the confrontation and the use of weapons. This was definitely achieved, and this has been fully borne out by the last few hours overnight.

The next part of our mission is to answer the large number of letters and telegrams which are reaching USSR President Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev, asking why the USSR president does not use the powers granted him by the USSR Constitution, why he does not defend the citizens of the Republic of Lithuania. In this connection, with your agreement, we will visit today a number of work collectives—production, scientific and research collectives. We will visit all the other points with which you feel we should familiarize ourselves. We will visit those collectives that have questions for the USSR Supreme Soviet and the Supreme Soviet of the Republic of Lithuania.

The idea is that on our return we should hold yet another meeting with you here at the final stage. We should reach agreement to ensure that these most undesirable situations and conflicts are ended—an objective toward which you will be working yourselves—so that people may live and that those human rights recognized worldwide, in the Soviet Union and in the Republic of Lithuania, are ensured so that every citizen in our country is protected. That is our mission.

I would like to end my address there. When we meet with you for the second time, it can either be with the same people who are present here now, or with those comrades whom you will authorize. Thank you for your attention.

Vagnorius Warns Officials Against Disloyalty

*LD1401122391 Kaunas Radio Kaunas in Lithuanian
1125 GMT 14 Jan 91*

[Statement by Lithuanian Prime Minister Gediminas Vagnorius at the Lithuanian Supreme Council session in Vilnius—live]

[Text] Esteemed people of Lithuania: Ruthless military aggression is being carried out against the Republic of Lithuania by the USSR, aggression whose script was written and carried out in 1940 and is being repeated today. Military and political forces of a foreign country are being used. However, as in 1940, some pro-Communist government structures which had not been replaced are providing their services for this.

It is known that attempts could be made to preserve a leadership that would be favorable to Moscow, or its

protege. The Government of the Republic of Lithuania has not yet been reformed. At this complex time for the Republic of Lithuania, it has been noticed that not all members of the government will remain loyal to the end of the Basic Law of the Republic of Lithuania.

As prime minister of the Government of the Republic of Lithuania, I declare that in the event of a refusal by a minister of the republic, or by someone acting as minister, or by any other official of a higher or a lower rank to carry out the laws of the Republic of Lithuania or the legitimate instructions of the leadership, that person will be held fully accountable to the Lithuanian nation, against which ruthless treatment has begun.

Vagnorius 'Going To Resign' After Simenas' Return

*LD1401091391 Moscow TASS in English 0712 GMT
14 Jan 91*

[Text] Vilnius January 14 TASS - "This night the military in Vilnius will not take any action," Aleksandras Abisala, deputy to the Lithuanian legislature, said on Sunday evening. Together with representatives of the Lithuanian legislature and government, he took part in talks with military representatives. The talks were also attended by members of a delegation of the Federation Council, who arrived in Vilnius on Sunday.

Commenting on the developments in Lithuania, Soviet Interior Minister Boris Pugo in the *Vremya* (Time) programme said, quoting the Lithuanian interior minister, that casualties in Lithuania include no less than ten dead and about 130 wounded.

Pugo said that "radio and television began to broadcast openly provocative and instigative programmes on Saturday". The National Salvation Committee sent a group of people to the legislature, in order to stop them. It was given an extremely hostile reception. "After they failed to talk with the leaders of the Republic, they went to the tv centre. There were people there, who by all appearances came to protect the building", he continued.

Pugo said that the National Salvation Committee asked the troops to support it. Such support was rendered but, "unfortunately, those who were on the defensive opened fire".

At 1:00, local time, (2:00 Moscow time) paratrooper and militia units established control over the building of the Lithuanian State Committee for Radio and Television. The National Salvation Committee imposed a curfew throughout the republic's territory.

The Lithuanian legislature completed the formation of a new cabinet of ministers on Sunday. Since "Prime Minister Albertas Simenas of the Lithuanian republic disappeared together with his family," as Lithuanian President Vytautas Landsbergis announced in the morning, legislature relieved him of the duties of prime minister. Gedeminas Vagnolius, 34, an economist, has been appointed the new head of government.

By the evening Albertas Simenas was found, Vagnorius is going to resign. A legislative commission was set up to investigate into the case. The new vice prime minister is Zigmantas Vaisvila, 34, chairman of the permanent legislative commission for the protection of the region and for the interior.

Lithuanian President Vytautas Landsbergis spoke on national radio in the evening. He urged the people who despite the curfew gathered outside the legislature building—several tens of thousands of them—to go home. As was pointed out at the news conference on Sunday, there were many armed people inside the Lithuanian legislature building and petrol bombs had been put together.

A delegation of the Federation Council, comprising Levon Ter-Petrosyan, president of the Armenian legislature, Nikolay Dementey, president of the Belorussian legislature and Boris Oleynik, deputy chairman of the Soviet legislature's Council of Nationalities, met with members of the National Salvation Committee, representatives of the Lithuanian Communist Party (LCP) Central Committee and Vytautas Landsbergis. Today they will meet the people who usually gather every day outside the legislature building.

Foreign Minister Saudargas Statement in Warsaw

*LD1501091391 Warsaw PAP in English 2300 GMT
14 Jan 91*

[Text] Warsaw, Jan. 14—I call for stopping war in the Persian Gulf, Lithuanian Foreign Minister Algirdas Saudargas told journalists at a press conference tonight. Today, it is not known which side the USSR will take in this war. Today, the key to the Persian Gulf is in Moscow, he added.

What happened in Lithuania is not only its own affair but that of the entire world, Saudargas said.

Asked about his today's meeting with head of Polish diplomacy Krzysztof Skubiszewski, Saudargas said he would not comment on it. He told journalists that he met also with heads of Danish, British and U.S. diplomatic missions today.

Tonight, head of the Confederation for an Independent Poland, KPN, Leszek Moczulski visited the so-called Lithuanian information staff headquartered here.

Comments on 'Threatening' Silence

*LD1401122191 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish
1200 GMT 14 Jan 91*

[Text] The Lithuanian minister of foreign affairs, Algirdas Saudargas, who is in Poland, has appeared at a news conference in Warsaw. He said, among other things, that if Gorbachev is not responsible for the blood spilled in Vilnius and is losing power, then the peaceful Lithuanian citizens spilled their blood for those ideas of which Gorbachev spoke. The silence now reigning in Lithuania is threatening, said Saudargas. He added that

the most important question that must be answered is who is in power in the USSR.

Military 'May Be Seizing Power'

*LD1501235191 Vilnius International Service in English
2230 GMT 15 Jan 91*

[Text] Yesterday the political representative of the Estonian Government in Lithuania, (Mark Tammak) arrived in Warsaw. He delivered to the Lithuanian Foreign Minister Algirdas Saudargas, now staying in Poland, the authorization of the Lithuanian parliament to form and head an emigration government [as heard] in case of a total crisis in Lithuania.

Minister Saudargas said at a news conference in Poland, quote: At the moment there is no such need, but if I do have to put this authorization in effect I'll be committed to begin the struggle for Lithuania outside its borders, unquote.

Algirdas Saudargas expressed an opinion that the military may be seizing power in the Soviet Union now. If Gorbachev is not responsible for the tragedy of our nation, Minister Saudargas said, then the peaceful citizens of Lithuania are the only ones to have spilled their blood before the silent world for the ideas that Gorbachev speaks about.

As the Soviet Army continues an open-armed aggression against the Republic of Lithuania, its parliament adopted a decision by which the government in emigration takes over all the authority as of the moment when it becomes evident that the Supreme Council of the republic of Lithuania cannot assemble and freely pass decisions.

Urges Prevention of Gulf War

*LD1501125391 Hamburg DPA in German 1136 GMT
15 Jan 91*

[Text] Frankfurt (DPA)—Lithuanian Foreign Minister Algirdas Saudargas has appealed to the world public to prevent a Gulf war. In Frankfurt today, on his way from Warsaw to London, he called for the deadline for Iraq's withdrawal from Kuwait to be extended so that an overview of the power situation in Moscow may be obtained.

He stated that the Gulf issue should be discussed once again in the UN Security Council. "If the world fights for oil and not for freedom then it will lose," the foreign minister said. He also questioned Soviet support for a Western intervention in the Gulf.

Saudargas said he was traveling on behalf of Lithuanian President Vytautas Landsbergis "to warn everyone" before the expiration of the Gulf deadline. He will only form a government in exile if the Lithuanian legislature is no longer able to work, he stated. He will return to Lithuania when the government in Vilnius decides on this, he said.

Saudargas, who admitted his government has made "small tactical mistakes" in the several months of power struggle with the Moscow central government, said he suspects that President Gorbachev "is already no longer in power" in the Kremlin. The shooting in Vilnius was not a local revolt, but an action controlled by "reactionary circles" in Moscow to recapture local power. "If after this another button is pressed in the Gulf no one will know which side Moscow is on," Saudargas said.

Asserts Gorbachev Not in Control

*LD1501203891 Berlin ADN in German 1828 GMT
15 Jan 91*

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The use of the military in Vilnius was controlled from Moscow by a military junta, Lithuanian Foreign Minister Algirdas Saudargas says in an interview in DER MORGEN (Tuesday's edition).

"All the units in the action were prepared. Putting the responsibility on the local authorities is a deliberate cover up by those pulling the strings. In Kaunas, for example, there was an agreement between the garrison and the authorities there that there would be no shooting. Suddenly the soldiers had quite different orders and no one knew where they came from," said Saudargas. He was in Poland at the time, he said, to form a government in exile there if the Lithuanian Government was toppled.

The situation is very confused. "Everything can change from one hour to the next. The only thing that is certain is that Gorbachev is no longer in control of the situation in the USSR. Gorbachev must take responsibility for those killed in Vilnius. Otherwise he is a criminal and must resign," the foreign minister said.

On the consequences that the events in Lithuania could have for developments in the USSR Saudargas said: "I believe that the Army leadership and the secret service have shown that they are in the process of re-establishing their power in the USSR. In such a large country that must not necessarily have an effect on the state's top leaders. The possibilities of influence at the local level are much more decisive." Lithuania will now pursue its path toward independence with even greater determination.

Supreme Council Appeals to UN for Help

*LD1501222591 Kaunas Radio Kaunas in Lithuanian
1600 GMT 15 Jan 91*

["Text" of Appeal by the Lithuanian Supreme Council to the United Nations, read by unidentified deputy at the Lithuanian Supreme Council session in Vilnius—live]

[Text] Lithuania has restored its independence to establish a constitutional, democratic, law-based republic where the government of the majority respects [passage indistinct] and the rights of minorities. This is the striving by all nations of the world and in the name of this Lithuania is now asking for their help.

The indisputable rights of all people, including the right to life, freedom and the aspiration for freedom, the safeguarding of which is the duty of all governments, must now be defended in Lithuania because otherwise these precious rights will be devalued once again. The Soviet Government is using all means, tanks, automatic weapons, groups of alleged rebels dressed in civilian clothing, a small part of the population misled by the CPSU, disinformation, [word indistinct] provocations allegedly by the workers and the so-called National Salvation Committee.

Thus endeavors are being made to show that there is no legitimate order in Lithuania [passage indistinct]. Lithuania is fighting heroically when thousands of Lithuanians, Poles, Russian and people of other nationalities, responding to the call of the democratically elected government and the government leaders, risking their lives, are coming to defend the developing constitutional democracy from the USSR attempts to destroy [passage indistinct].

The democratically elected Lithuanian Government appeals to the United Nations to (?defend) and urgently demands that a UN commission be sent immediately to observe the present crisis and prepare a report to the Security Council and the General Assembly so that legitimate order, justice, and real peace in our suffering homeland is restored.

Makes Appeal to People 15 Jan

*LD1501214491 Kaunas Radio Kaunas in Russian
1955 GMT 15 Jan 91*

[Appeal by the Lithuanian Supreme Council to the Lithuanian people; read by announcer]

[Text] [Words indistinct] decisive moments the deputies of all parties and factions to put aside all [words indistinct] differences and unanimously support the laws of the legislature and Government of Lithuania. We listened with tears of joy in our eyes to the statement by the Polish faction which unconditionally rejected the insinuations of the enemies of Lithuania.

At the present time, when the history of the homeland is written in our hearts the awakened voice of conscience becomes higher than [words indistinct] awards. Only two opposing sides remain—good and evil; the homeland or its enslavers. We call upon our colleague deputies and all the inhabitants of Lithuania at this grave hour of trial to fraternally grasp every hand which is extended to us from the heart.

Signed, Vytautas Landsbergis, chairman of the Supreme Council of the Lithuanian Republic.

Georgian Representative Reads Statement of Support

*LD1501181491 Kaunas Radio Kaunas in Russian
1530 GMT 15 Jan 91*

[Statement by unidentified representative of the Georgian Supreme Council at the Lithuanian Supreme Council session in Vilnius—live]

[Excerpts] [Passage omitted] On 12 January there was an emergency session of the [Georgian] Supreme Soviet Presidium which adopted a statement. [passage omitted] With your permission, I will read out the conclusion of that statement:

The Supreme Soviet Presidium of the Republic of Georgia resolutely protests the use of military force against the Lithuanian people which is fighting for its independence. We express our solidarity with its legally elected legislature, the legislature of the Republic of Lithuania. The events in Lithuania confirm that reactionary forces which want a return to a totalitarian regime are gaining the upper hand in the USSR.

The Supreme Soviet Presidium of the Republic of Georgia condemns the bloody aggression against the independent, sovereign Lithuanian state, and demands that the units of the Soviet Army withdraw immediately from the republic. [passage indistinct] [applause]

Moldovan Representative Condemns Events in Vilnius

*LD1501152291 Kaunas Radio Kaunas in Russian
1314 GMT 15 Jan 91*

[Speech by unidentified representative of the Moldovan Supreme Soviet at meeting of the Lithuanian Supreme Council in Vilnius—live]

[Text] Ladies and gentlemen, esteemed colleagues. We have come to your republic in these hard days for your people, hard days for the positive processes which the union republics have started. These days, most sadly, will go down in history as days when reaction, when reactionary forces started their offensive against democracy. We have come to your republic, to your parliament, in order to see with our own eyes how those black forces which want to stifle democracy today are acting, because the same processes are ripening in our republic also, the same forces are acting in our republic which want to halt today everything positive for the people, to halt the processes of social renewal, and if they succeed, then everything will be reversed.

The Presidium of our republic's Supreme Soviet yesterday examined this issue, the state of affairs, and adopted a declaration which I am bringing to your attention, if I may. The Presidium of our republic's Supreme Soviet describes the armed actions in this republic, in your republic, as intervention, as crude encroachment on the independence of the sovereign state of Lithuania, and also a threat to the sovereignty and independence of the other union republics. We condemn the anticonstitutional activities of the USSR leadership,

which is guilty of mass beatings and murder of the civilian population of Lithuania, such as happened in April 1989 in Georgia, and we resolutely demand that all troops be withdrawn both from the territory of Lithuania and from the territory of our republic. Those reactionary forces which today want to stifle the processes of democratization and national rebirth of the peoples have started their activity in the USSR.

At this time of grave tribulations for the Lithuanian people, we confirm our support for the aspirations of the fraternal people, and also solidarity with the Supreme Council of the Republic of Lithuania. We, the democratic forces of the entire country, today must display cohesion and not yield to provocations and [word indistinct] from antidemocratic forces. We must promote the maintenance of stability in the economic, social, and political life of our republics.

Allow me in the name of the Moldovan people to offer deep sympathy at the beatings and deaths which took place in your republic as a result of the intervention, and to state to you that we, people of good will in the Republic of Moldova, will do everything we can to insure that there is full support for the processes of democracy, the processes of national rebirth of the peoples striving for freedom and independence.

Long live free, independent Lithuania! Long live our peoples fighting for democracy, freedom, and independence! Thank you. [applause]

Guard Commander Dismisses Rumors on TV Tower

LD1501122991 Moscow TASS International Service
in Russian 1133 GMT 15 Jan 91

[By TASS special correspondent]

[Excerpt] Vilnius, 15 Jan (TASS)—Aleksandr Subbotin, commander of the guard at the Vilnius television tower which was occupied by the military on the night of 12-13 January, has dismissed rumors being spread by Lithuanian officials regarding the situation at the installation.

In the Lithuanian legislature today, its chairman Vytautas Landsbergis, and Audrius Butkevicius, general director of the Department for the Protection of the Country, alleged that in the television tower's bar there may be "some protectors of the country who have barricaded themselves in and whose lives are in danger." Moreover, according to them, those now guarding the television tower "want to use the chemical fire-extinguishing system to release gas" and they claim that "corpses are being carried out in sacks and sent by air out of the republic."

In a telephone interview with a TASS correspondent, Aleksandr Subbotin officially stated that "there is not a single protector of the country at the television tower; nobody is planning to release gas; and Engineer

Romanovich, who is responsible for the fire extinguishing system at the tower, is at his post to avert any unauthorized use of the chemical fire-extinguishing system." [passage omitted]

Vilnius 'Corpses in Sacks' Story Unconfirmed

LD1501184391 Moscow TASS International Service
in Russian 1803 GMT 15 Jan 91

[Text] Vilnius, 15 Jan (TASS)—In connection with the claims by Vytautas Landsbergis, spread on Lithuanian Radio, that there are hostages in the Vilnius TV tower occupied by the military and that soldiers "are removing from the bodies of those killed, concealed in sacks," a large group of Soviet and foreign journalists today visited the tower. At the insistence of the airborne troops and members of the workers' volunteer squads, the journalists went up to all 23 floors, and inspected all the quarters, nooks and crannies, and basement. No outsiders were discovered there.

Nor was the "corpses in sacks" story confirmed. As the military reported, the soldiers are carrying rubbish out in sacks and tipping it in the courtyard near the TV tower. The journalists also saw something else: bottles of petrol, prepared by those defending the tower, and soldiers and volunteer squad members with bruised faces. Meanwhile people are crowding round the TV tower. Some of them are shouting "Out with the occupiers," while others are giving the soldiers food.

Prosecutor Comments on Rumors on Officer's Death

PM1501204791 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
16 Jan 91 Union Edition p 2

[V. Litovkin report: "Who Killed Lieutenant Shitnovich?"]

[Text] Yesterday Leningrad television carried a report that during the storming of Vilnius Television Center several paratroopers refused to carry out an officer's order—for which the commander shot one of them with a bullet in the back.

We telephoned Justice Major General V. Kupets, military prosecutor of the Baltic Military District, and asked him to comment on this fact.

"We have no information about paratroopers' disobedience and shooting in the back," Vladimir Ivanovich said. "Three versions have already been put forward in Vilnius about the death of Lieutenant Viktor Shitnovich. Their essence is that he was killed some way away and was then brought and dumped by the television center building. This rumor was not confirmed. Then another one appeared: The lieutenant was accidentally wounded by one of his own men. And now the latest version: He was deliberately killed for disobedience...."

"I have spoken with Lithuanian SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] Prosecutor A. Piatrauskas, who is conducting

this case. He denies the fact of disobedience. Incidentally, this case is being conducted in Vilnius by three prosecutor's offices: those of the Lithuanian SSR and the Lithuanian Republic (Prosecutor A. Paulauskas appointed by the republic Supreme Soviet) and the military. Three criminal cases have been instituted in respect to the lieutenant's killing.

"Unfortunately, the republic prosecutor's office is not making any contact with us. The other prosecutor's investigation has established that there was no disobedience because the lieutenant was wounded when he climbed through a window in fulfillment of an order. He was shot at from the street. Eyewitnesses who were there say that he went limp as he was climbing through the window. However, this question has not yet been investigated in detail, because the latest version was aired over the radio only today. I have now set the task of studying this question, and there will be some results by the end of the day.

"The servicemen's weapons are now being test-fired to determine whether their assault rifles were fired. The republic prosecutor's office and its experts have not yet let us have the 5.45 caliber bullet, and its identification is being held up."

Security Chief Denies 'Home-Guard' in TV Tower

LD1501154791 Moscow TASS in English 1502 GMT 15 Jan 91

[By TASS special correspondent]

[Text] Vilnius January 15 TASS—The security chief of the Vilnius television tower, which was seized by Soviet troops early on Sunday, denied Lithuanian officials' claims that home-guard fighters were holed up inside the facility.

Lithuanian President Vytautas Landsbergis and Home-Guard Forces' Commander Audrius Butkiavicius suggested in the republican parliament today that members of the Home Guard may have barricaded themselves in the tower's bar.

They alleged also that the tower's security guards "want to smoke them out by releasing gas from the chemical fire-fighting system" and that "corpses are being taken out (of the tower) in cloth bags and sent out of the republic by plane".

The TV tower's security chief, Aleksandr Subbotin, told TASS by telephone, however, that "there is not a single Home-Guard member inside the tower, no-one is going to release the gas and the engineer responsible for the chemical fire-fighting system remains at his workplace to prevent the system's unauthorized use".

In the opinion of Lithuanian Communist Party leaders, "there is virtual dual power in the republic. Neither the

Supreme Soviet nor the National Salvation Committee are able to fully control the situation, which remains tense and explosive".

The party Central Committee believes that direct presidential rule is the only way out. Otherwise, it warns, there will be a real danger of civil war in Lithuania.

Speaking in the federal parliament on Monday, President Mikhail Gorbachev said that popular discontent with blatant violations of the constitution by Lithuanian leaders "has reached a critical mass", spreading "not only to Russians and Poles but also to the Lithuanian population".

Commission to Investigate 'Murders' in Lithuania

LD1501230891 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 2151 GMT 15 Jan 91

[From the "Television News Service" program]

[Text] Nikolay Trubin, the USSR procurator general, has appointed a commission to investigate the murders in Lithuania. As we have been told at the Lithuanian permanent mission in Moscow, the names of those killed are now known. Fifteen people died today. Another 23 people have disappeared without trace. One hundred and sixty-eight have been injured.

This video material is being offered for assistance to the commission.

[Unidentified correspondent] On 13 January, at 0155, tanks, armored troop carriers, and paratroopers surrounded the television station. These shots started to be filmed at 0351 at Clinic No. 1 in Vilnius. According to a neurosurgeon at the hospital, (Paul Lukyavicus), many injured people were taken through here. Operations were carried out in all theaters. A part of the gynecological department had to be evacuated in order to receive the injured. The bodies of the people you can see were brought in by local people in their cars. Some had been shot, others crushed.

65 People Reportedly Missing in Vilnius

LD1501113391 Stockholm International Service in Swedish 1100 GMT 15 Jan 91

[Text] According to reports received by the Lithuanian information office in Oslo, 65 people have disappeared without trace following the Soviet attack in Vilnius very early Sunday [13 January] which claimed a total of 14 lives and more than 160 injured.

National Salvation Committee Appeals to People

PM1601122991 Moscow SELSKAYA ZHIZN in Russian 16 Jan 91 pp 1,5

[Unnamed TASS special correspondent report: "Lithuania: Who Is Fueling the Situation"]

[Excerpt] [Passage omitted] Lithuania's National Salvation Committee has adopted an appeal to the republic's working people in which it says, in particular: "Each of us individually and all of us together feel that we have been deceived by some people's deputies whom we elected to the Lithuanian SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] Supreme Soviet and by 'Sajudis' leaders. After joining forces to form an antisocialist bloc, they effectively carried out a legislative coup d'etat 11 March 1990. Since then, under the cover of slogans about restoring the independent Lithuanian state, socialist perestroika in Lithuania has begun to be supplanted by the restoration of capitalism—in its primitive and most rapacious form. Instead of a democratic state in which the population's prosperity and security are set above everything, a totalitarian bourgeois-nationalist machine of repression began to be imposed on the republic, allowing fascist louts destroying the people's culture and morality a completely free hand."

The committee said that with the help of the republic's inhabitants it will ensure the restoration of the working people's state of Lithuania—the Lithuanian Soviet Socialist Republic. Its main immediate tasks are to establish legal and effective sovereignty and independence based on the Union treaty; organize the renewal of Lithuania on the basis of tried panhuman socialist values, primarily social justice, humanism, and freedom; implement the vital interests of all strata of working people; restore and increase Lithuania's economic potential; ensure employment for the population; boost the quality of life; and curb the activity of mafia groups in all spheres of life.

The National Salvation Committee urged men and women, young and old, to refrain from taking up arms, steadfastly resist the republic's being drawn into civil war, reject feelings of hostility and encouragement to take vengeance on anyone whatsoever—political opponents, people of other nationalities, servicemen. Civil peace, active participation in cultural and sociopolitical progress, conscientious work by everyone in their chosen sphere of activity, and the preservation of human dignity are what are needed to establish the genuine independence of sovereign, Soviet, socialist Lithuania, the appeal says.

Appeals for Presidential Rule

LD1501184191 Moscow TASS International Service
in Russian 1740 GMT 15 Jan 91

[By TASS correspondent]

[Text] Vilnius, 15 Jan (TASS)—In the situation which has arisen, the Committee of National Salvation sees no other way out than to urgently ask the USSR president to immediately introduce presidential rule on Lithuanian territory. This is stated in an appeal to M. Gorbachev, the USSR president, and A. Lukyanov, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet, which has been adopted by the Committee of National Salvation and Defense of the

Constitution, which has been set up in Lithuania. Any procrastination and irresoluteness, the appeal stresses, are fraught with the most grave consequences, complete economic ruin, and numerous human casualties.

In the appeal the committee reports persecution of the champions of Soviet power in Lithuania.

On 13 January 1991 the civil strife in Lithuania was aggravated to the extreme and began to involve the use of arms, it says. Attacks and pogroms are being mounted against town and rayon committees of the Lithuanian Communist Party. There has been a sharp intensification of persecution of Communists and champions of Soviet power. Armed fighters from the detachments for the so-called defense of the country have mounted a veritable hounding of secretaries of rayon committees, town committees of the party, and other party activists. The Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee's links with some party committees has been lost.

The Supreme Soviet of the republic, with the help of some of the mass news media, facilities which have been left in its hands (radio and television transmitting center near Kaunas and satellite antennae) has unleashed a hitherto unheard-of round-the-clock campaign of disinformation, lies and slander against the USSR, its president and the Supreme Soviet, directly inciting fanatically minded nationalists and the entire indigenous population against Communists and all citizens who sympathize with Soviet power, the document notes. In this way the situation in the republic has become quite uncontrollable either by the Supreme Soviet and its government or by the newly formed Committee of National Salvation of Lithuania.

The Committee of National Salvation sees no other way out than to urgently ask the USSR president to immediately introduce presidential rule to the territory of the Lithuanian Soviet Socialist Republic.

Committee Asserts Authority

LD1501063691 Moscow TASS in English 0614 GMT
15 Jan 91

[Text] Vilnius January 14 TASS—"The Lithuanian parliament responded to the demand by working people that the USSR and Lithuanian Constitution be restored in the republic with calls for a fratricidal civil war", Lithuania's National Salvation Committee noted in a statement released and circulated here today by the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee's news agency. The statement proclaims "unlawful and invalid the resolution on the transformation of the Supreme Soviet of the Lithuanian Soviet Socialist Republic [LSSR] into the Supreme Soviet of the Lithuanian Republic adopted on March 11, 1990 as a result of a parliamentary coup d'etat in favour of nationalistic separatist forces." It also proclaims unlawful and invalid the provisional fundamental law (constitution) of the Lithuanian Republic. Lithuania's National Salvation Committee resolved "to restore in full measure the effect

of the USSR Constitution and the Constitution of the LSSR on Lithuanian territory, as well as the name of the state of working people created in the difficult struggle—"the Lithuanian Soviet Socialist Republic". The resolution makes it binding on the bodies of state authority of the Lithuanian Soviet Socialist Republic, public organizations active on its territory and individuals to take guidance from the present resolution.

Committee Issues 'Warning'

*LD1501162491 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian
1452 GMT 15 Jan 91*

[Report by special correspondent Yuriy Korotkov in Vilnius]

[Text] The situation in Lithuania remains difficult. Following the tragic events in recent days in Vilnius there is an unbelievable sense of nervous tension. On the part of the whole of the population—Lithuanians, Russians, civilians, and military. If the situation up until now has been tense, then now it is simply explosive.

The National Salvation Committee has just this minute distributed a warning which reads in part: The destructive forces headed by Landsbergis' parliament are continuing feverishly to stoke up tension in Lithuania. During just the past few hours parliament has passed a number of bills aimed directly at unleashing military action against the Army, organizing pogroms, and physically wiping out people who speak other languages, communists, the families of servicemen, and all USSR citizens. There have always been instances in rayons and towns of pogroms against military establishments, Lithuanian Communist Party committees, along with attempts to physically exterminate dissidents. It is perfectly clear that, by pushing the people of Lithuania to bloody slaughter, Landsbergis and company are trying to rid themselves of the blood of those who have died and remove the label of murderers.

In this connection, the Committee for National Salvation and the Defense of the Soviet Constitution resolutely warns the Lithuanian Supreme Council and its chairman Landsbergis personally that the slightest encroachment on the life, honor, and dignity of USSR citizens, communists, the families of servicemen, and everybody who does not accept the present fascist regime will inevitably call forth the most resolute retaliation measures. The National Salvation Committee demands that the Supreme Council law down its powers.

I should add that at a session today it was also stated that it is necessary to demand that the Federation Council commission which is in Lithuania should take decisions that suit the Lithuanian supreme council. Incidentally, the members of the commission had a meeting with workers from the Vilnius Radiometers Plant. The meeting was stormy and emotional. A real fight broke out in full view of the members of the commission. True, the fighters were quickly separated. The commission members appealed to the opposing sides to calm down

and heed the voice of reason, to listen to one another. But I am not convinced that these appeals made any impression on them.

Following this meeting, Boris Ilyich Oleynik granted us an interview in which he said that the situation in Lithuania is more complicated than he had thought. It is our job, Oleynik said, to gather information and report back to the president. He will be the one to make a decision.

Meanwhile, children's drawings are appearing on walls outside the Lithuanian Foreign Ministry in Vilnius. A childish hand has written: "No to Gorbachev!" You cannot imagine how absurd and terrible it is when our children drink the stupefying potion of grand politics almost as if it were their mothers' milk. It is but a step from words and slogans to deeds. As Demidov, the country's deputy minister of internal affairs, has said: The local people hold a huge number of weapons. We were today shown weapons and ammunition that had been discovered in Vilnius and seized by Interior Ministry bodies in the course of a single operation on 12 January. There were 70 guns—49 carbines and 21 Tokarev Tula pistols—as well as 37 cases of carbine cartridges, with 1,000 cartridges in each.

In conclusion, I would like to remind you that the funerals of those who have died take place in Vilnius tomorrow. Tens of thousands of people will assemble. I would not like to hazard a guess at how the funerals will pass off.

National Salvation Committee Criticized

*PM1501133791 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA
PRAVDA in Russian 15 Jan 91 p 1*

[Unattributed report: "Who's Who"]

[Text] The National Salvation Committee—according to Central Television, it was formed on Thursday [10 January]. People in Lithuania hold a different opinion—saying that its creation was planned a long time ago as a contingency measure. The committee's first step was to give itself full powers, its second was to try to introduce a curfew throughout the republic. The former is impossible without declaring martial law, the latter for the same reason. The "Salvation" committee's location and telephone number are not known. The reception desk of the Lithuanian Communist Party on the CPSU Platform replied that they do not know it, either. A committee with the name "national" should represent all Lithuania's public organizations. There is not a single person on it from Lithuanian organizations. So, it can only be a question of the Lithuanian Communist Party, the USSR citizens' committee, and other pro-Moscow organizations. The committee members' names are being kept secret, although every resident of Lithuania knows whom we are talking about.

TASS on Anti-Communist Activities in Lithuania

*LD1501164691 Moscow TASS International Service
in Russian 1331 GMT 15 Jan 91*

[By TASS special correspondent]

[Text] Vilnius, 15 Jan (TASS)—The situation in Lithuania remains exceedingly tense. The leadership of this Baltic republic is continuing to stoke up anti-Communist feeling. Speaking in the republic's legislature today, Kazimieras Motieka, deputy chairman of the Supreme Council, even suggested to deputies that they should "strip Communists of their mandates as deputies."

Everywhere—in almost every rayon of Lithuania—Communists are coming under pressure. They are being threatened with physical violence. In particular, an appeal was broadcast on local radio in Pasvalis calling on Maynonis, the secretary of the rayon committee, to abandon his party work. If he did not, he was threatened with being placed on the "condemned list," which also includes Mikolas Burokevicius, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and first secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Lithuania.

In the town of Akmene, people are banging at night on the windows and doors of Vasilyevich, first secretary of the Communist Party of Lithuania [as received], and both he and Second Secretary Stackauskiene are receiving telephone threats of physical violence. In Utena, the division of the Department for the Defense of the Country has lists of members of the bureau and members of the party rayon committee. The members of the bureau do not spend the night at home. Youths turned up at the home of the secretary of the Daugailiai collective farm party organization Zemaitis and threatened him with death. On Sunday unknown persons burst in on him and also threatened him with violence. Members of the bureau of the party rayon committee and secretaries of party organizations have asked to be issued with weapons. Seventeen rural dwellers have demanded the return of their party cards, which they had previously surrendered. All of them are Lithuanians.

"The legitimately elected legislature and government are in control of the situation in the republic," Vytautas Landsbergis, chairman of the Lithuanian Supreme Council, claimed today in the republic's legislature.

True, at the same time he went on to insist that the "danger of the legislature being seized remains" and advised the populace to assemble outside the legislature building during the daytime. The head of the Lithuanian legislature said that the checks being made on vehicles on the road by the military are "illegal." In his opinion, this step "could become a reason for further bloodshed," and also "creates conditions conducive to robbery." Landsbergis said that the "army of occupation is pillaging the buildings it has seized, stripping them of their equipment."

As for the funerals of the "victims of Sunday" scheduled for tomorrow, Landsbergis has called on the populace to "be vigilant and not to give in to provocation."

Lithuanian Communist 'Criminals' Arrest Ordered

*LD1501220991 Moscow Central Television First
Program Network in Russian 1800 GMT 15 Jan 91*

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] We have obtained a very, very serious document. It is order No. 009A from the commander of a unit of troops of the defense department of the Lithuanian Republic. Here are just a few quotations from this order:

Implementing the law of the Lithuanian Republic on political parties and trying to weaken the subversive Bolshevik activity of other states, I order:

Company and detachment commanders in the rayons at such and such a time—the time is in cipher—to carry out Operation Shield. Objectives of Operation Shield: to destroy subversive centers belonging to other states in the rayons; to isolate the central committee of the Communist Party of Lithuania—CPSU—from the public; and to bring about a situation in which its propaganda is incapable of functioning.

In every rayon, to prepare lists of 10 to 15 active members of the Communist Party of Lithuania giving their precise address, the number of the entrance to their apartment blocks, the floor, the apartment number, and family circumstances, and what weapons may be used; and to draw up a plan.

One hour before the start of the operation, to cut off telephone communications with the aid of loyal communications workers, and where this cannot be done, to cut the telephone lines and cables.

Fighters of the detention group must be armed. In each vehicle there must be one machine gun, and each fighter must have one pistol, be armed with a knife, and have a medical first aid kit. Two vehicles are to go for each criminal, each one containing three fighters. The drivers should remain in the vehicles and if necessary cover the group with machinegun fire. Four fighters from the group are to carry out the arrest of the criminal, along with all members of his family.

It must be announced in the mass media that a large group of criminals has been arrested who had wide links in the rayons and who had plundered the population for a long time.

Vilnius Internal Troops Criticize Yeltsin

*LD1501211491 Moscow TASS in English 2100 GMT
19 Jan 91*

[By TASS correspondents Serafim Bykhun, Vyacheslav Zenkovich, and Gennadiy Petrov]

[Text] Vilnius January 15 TASS—The Vilnius garrison of Soviet Interior Ministry Troops negatively responded to a statement by the presidium of the Russian parliament on the situation in Lithuania and an appeal by Russian parliament President Boris Yeltsin to servicemen conscripted in Russia and serving in the Baltics.

A meeting of servicemen of the Vilnius garrison, which was held here today, adopted an appeal to the Soviet president and the Russian parliament, noting that Yeltsin's statement does not help stabilize the situation in Lithuania and is a dagger in the back of those who actively campaign for their rights and honestly perform their military duty.

"Yeltsin had had [as received] to visit the republic and military units and to find out against whom servicemen stand out before making this statement," the document says.

Vilnius Garrison General Cited on Attack

LD1401033491

[Editorial Report] Lithuania's Radio Kaunas broadcasting on 666 khz from facilities at the Supreme Council building in Vilnius at 0105 GMT on 14 January carries a report on an article in the 13 January RESPUBLIKA newspaper by Jieva Urasiute.

Ursiute's article, the announcer says, reports on a meeting between General Uskopchikov of the Vilnius Garrison and a Lithuanian official. The announcer says Uskopchikov expressed regret at the fact the sorties of the night of 13 January resulted in many victims. The announcer says the general was quoted as saying he was not satisfied with the organizing of the action. When asked who gave the order to shoot at Vilnius residents, the announcer says the general gave a vague answer, citing a document from Moscow and adding that during the course of the attack, officers softened the instructions considerably, "since the soldiers are very dissatisfied with their economic and social situation in the Baltics."

KGB Members Denounce Force Against Lithuania

LD1601094191 Kaunas Radio Kaunas in Lithuanian
0905 GMT 16 Jan 91

[Unscheduled Announcement]

[Text] Last night the government information received the following statement by a group of officers of the Soviet KGB in Lithuania:

Its text is as follows: We, eight officers of the KGB in Lithuania, condemn the use of force against the independent republic of Lithuania, which spilled the blood of innocent people. We state in connection with this that our further presence in this institution is impossible. We will stay with Lithuania. Signed: Vaitaitis, Simkus, Gavenas, Grudzinskas, Sivaras, Trakas, Sadauskas, Gibury.

The government information service, on its part, appeals to all officials of this department in Lithuania who have been able to preserve their sense, conscience, and human feelings, urging them to follow the example of their former colleagues.

Komsomol Rejects Using Force in Lithuania

LD1501195391 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian
1900 GMT 15 Jan 91

[Text] The bureau of the VLKSM [Communist Youth League] Central Committee has adopted a statement in connection with the situation in Lithuania. It stresses that there can be no sensible grounds for using the Army to solve political questions and proposes that a thorough and objective investigation into the causes of the tragedy be carried out.

The bureau of the VLKSM Central Committee has appealed to the Lithuanian Supreme Council, as the legally elected body of power, to respect the rights of citizens, irrespective of their national or party affiliation, and has urged all the political forces of the Baltic republics to show good will in order to normalize the situation as quickly as possible.

The statement also contains an appeal to the leaders of all the political movements in the country to refrain from actions directed toward a further intensification of the confrontation in society. Appealing to the USSR president and to the presidents and chairmen of the supreme soviets of the Union republics, the VLKSM Central Committee Bureau has stated: In the present situation you must be guided not by personal attitudes and political passions, but conduct a constructive dialogue in order to achieve a civil peace.

Reports on Situation in Lithuania 14-15 January

Landsbergis: Air Attack 'Possible'

LD1401200491

[Editorial Report] Kaunas Radio Kaunas in Lithuanian at 1831 GMT on 14 January begins carrying a news conference given by Lithuanian Supreme Council Chairman Vytautas Landsbergis from the Supreme Council building in Vilnius.

In response to a question, Landsbergis says it is possible the Supreme Council building will be attacked by air during the night. Landsbergis advises foreign journalists to leave the building for the night.

Fewer Demonstrators Night of 13th

AU1401082991 Paris AFP in English 0811 GMT
14 Jan 91

[Text] Vilnius, Lithuania, Jan 14 (AFP) — Hundreds of people kept vigil outside the legislature building in freezing temperatures here overnight despite an accord

between the Soviet military and Lithuanian legislature officials, an AFP correspondent reported Monday [14 January].

The military had agreed not to order an armed intervention overnight if demonstrators agreed to leave legislature square. A curfew, which was ordered, did not come into effect and there were no military patrols in the Lithuanian capital after 5 p.m. (1500 GMT) Sunday.

Most of the nationalist demonstrators, who had gathered outside legislature over the weekend to prevent the Army storming the building, dispersed in the late evening. Towards midnight, buses were running in downtown Vilnius taking demonstrators home.

Of the tens of thousands of demonstrators who gathered Sunday outside legislature, only about 300 remained there overnight, lighting fires to keep warm as the temperature dropped to minus 10 centigrade and taking it in turns to sleep in nearby parked buses.

The Lithuanian legislature had decreed three days of national mourning from Sunday following the killing by the Army of 13 people in Vilnius and one in Kaunas over the weekend. On Monday, schools were closed and the bodies of the victims were to be exposed in the afternoon at the sports stadium.

Vilnius airport was operating normally Monday morning and the pro-Moscow radio station, operated by Yedinstvo [Unity], stopped broadcasting at about 2200 local time Sunday after having called for people to observe the curfew.

On Monday, the legislature's presidium was due to meet to discuss how negotiations should proceed with the military.

Official Mourning Begins 14 Jan

*LD1401102191 Moscow TASS in English 1002 GMT
14 Jan 91*

[By TASS correspondents Aleksandr Budris, Vyacheslav Denkovich, and Gennadiy Petrov]

[Text] Vilnius January 14 TASS—Schools in strife-torn Lithuania are closed this morning as the republic begins three days of official mourning for those killed in Saturday [12 January] night's clashes with Soviet troops.

National radio is continuing to broadcast from the building of the Supreme Soviet and is transmitting statements denouncing the use of military force by some foreign and Soviet political figures.

The TV centre in the city of Kaunas is working but its broadcasts cannot be received in all of the republic.

Last night in Vilnius, despite the imposed curfew, public transport worked until late at night and street traffic continued.

Late at night General Director of the Regional Defence Department Audrus Butkiavicius said that representatives of the Lithuanian legislature and government met the military in the presence of the delegation of the USSR Federation Council.

Sajudis Urges Underground Press

*LD1401132491 Kaunas Radio Kaunas in Russian
1252 GMT 14 Jan 91*

[Unscheduled announcement]

[Text] This is Lithuanian Radio. We have just received an important report from the Sajudis Council:

People of Lithuania, the occupation army is continuing its actions against the Lithuanian state. They want to eliminate the last mass media and independent sources of information in Lithuania. It can be expected that in the near future the relay of Radio Kaunas television and also telephone links will also be cut. Then the underground press will be the only source of information for Lithuania.

We call on all Sajudis groups, all organizations and institutions, and all inhabitants of Lithuania: prepare possibilities for publishing an underground press. Take care to ensure that copying machinery and printing presses are ready and moved to safe premises to ensure that there is a sufficient quantity of paper, ink, and other materials in order to organize a normal press. Prepare transportation and links with Vilnius for people to ensure links with other towns of Lithuania. This must all be done without putting aside freedom of speech. This is free Lithuania.

This statement is signed by the Sajudis Council of Lithuania.

Power Station To Cut Off Electricity 16 Jan

*LD1601054291 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian
0500 GMT 16 Jan 91*

[Text] One more report from Vilnius. There was a conference of the labor collective of the Ignalina Nuclear Power Station [AES] on Tuesday. At this conference a statement was adopted stating that in view of the failure to carry out the demands laid out in a statement by those who participated in a two-hour warning strike at the AES on 11 January—namely the demand for the speedy dissolution of the Lithuanian Supreme Soviet and the demand that the USSR and Lithuanian Soviet Socialist Republic Constitutions be restored to full effect on the republic's territory—the collective of the station has decided to form a strike committee and to shut off the electricity supply to users on the territory of Lithuania from 1800 today, guaranteeing however, in these circumstances, the normal and safe functioning of the reactor.

Workers Begin Strikes

*LD1601103291 Moscow TASS in English 0948 GMT
16 Jan 91*

[Text] Vilnius January 16 TASS—The work collectives at the Ignalina nuclear power station, the Vilnius railway junction and Klaipeda trade port have begun a political strike today, demanding the resignation of the present Lithuanian leadership, the news agency of the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee reported, referring to the republican Committee for National Salvation.

The committee says the striking workers hold Vytautas Landsbergis and other leaders of the Lithuanian parliament and government accountable for human casualties in Vilnius on January 13.

They also demand that the Committee for National Salvation take decisive actions to introduce direct presidential rule in the republic immediately. Workers stated that the strikes would continue until demands were fulfilled in their entirety.

Moscow TV on 'Conundrums' in TASS Reportage

*LD1401110191 Moscow Central Television First
Program Network in Russian 0900 GMT 14 Jan 91*

[From the "Television News Service" program]

[Text] In Lithuania blood has been shed. There are dead and injured. The editorial team is literally snowed under with reports on the situation in Lithuania and foreign reaction. The best-known world leaders have condemned to a greater or lesser extent the use of force.

But our broadcast is being carried on state television, and I will try to give an evaluation of the events in Lithuania from a state view point. I will begin with the fact that there simply is no state evaluation of the latest events. Representatives of the Council of the Federation are still working in Lithuania, and from TASS reports it is to be understood that the Lithuanian Supreme Soviet does not enjoy the support of the population. At the same time TASS reports that several thousand people are guarding the legislature. The power of the soviets, including the Supreme Soviet, is being declared overthrown by the mysterious Committee for National Salvation. It is not known by whom and how it has been formed.

The members of the committee do not like the programs of radio and television, and they are heading for the Supreme Soviet, which they themselves have abrogated, and then for the television center. The provocative broadcasts, it seems, appeal to many inhabitants. In any case, the television building is surrounded by civilians. Disappointed by the unkind reception, the members of the Committee for National Salvation ask for help from the military who just happen to be there. It goes without saying they agree and, in response to a treacherous shot,

kill more than 10 people and wound more than 100 people. TASS reports that the television center has been taken over.

Seeing that the stupefied populace is still obstinately supporting the Supreme Soviet which they themselves elected, the Committee for National Salvation, elected by persons unknown, introduces a curfew. But who will ensure it? You see, the committee has no troops. The Soviet Army, it goes without saying! Thus, there are many conundrums in the TASS report.

We will give you no more information, the more so because the situation, as before, is not clear. According to the latest reports, the night passed more or less calmly in Lithuania.

TASS Roundup of Situation in Lithuania

*LD1501135291 Moscow TASS in English 1308 GMT
15 Jan 91*

[Text] Vilnius January 15 TASS—"The crime situation in Lithuania was normal last night and there were no emergencies," Lithuanian Deputy Interior Minister Petras Liubertas told TASS.

The ministry's duty officer Mecislovas Atroskiavicius agreed, saying, however, that "troops stopped and checked Interior Ministry patrols".

Soviet Deputy Defence Minister and Ground Forces Commander Valentin Varennikov arrived in Lithuania today, local radio reported.

Lithuanian President Vytautas Landsbergis and many parliamentarians spent the night in the parliamentary building.

Solemn music is being broadcast over the radio. On Monday [14 January], coffins with victims of the Vilnius tragedy were put on display in the local sports palace, with people queuing for five-six hours to pay their last respects.

Members of a USSR Federation Council delegation, on a fact-finding mission to the republic, are expected to speak in parliament about their conclusions from Monday's meetings with work collectives.

"Members of the delegation arrived with their minds already made up about the situation," writer Jonas Avijus said on local radio today.

The delegation aims to "restore calm and peace in the republic", Deputy Chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Council of Nationalities Boris Oleynik, who is one of the delegates, told reporters on Monday.

"It is necessary to seek ways towards understanding and a truce, to calm thousands of people who have taken to the streets," Armenian President Levon Ter-Petrosyan said.

Lithuania's National Salvation Committee called on residents "not to take up arms, resolutely resist drawing the republic into civil war, renounce the sense of enmity and revenge towards political opponents, people of other nationalities, servicemen,—anyone".

In Estonia, participants in a meeting of officers in Tallinn's garrison said Russian President Boris Yeltsin's appeal to Russian soldiers stationed in the Baltics was "provocative".

Documents signed by Yeltsin and the Baltic leaders "take no account whatsoever of the opinions of Russian speakers living in the Baltics".

IZVESTIYA Reviews Vilnius Events Aftermath

PM1501202591 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
16 Jan 91 Union Edition p 1

[Correspondent N. Lashkevich report: "Lithuania Pays Last Respects to Dead"]

[Text] I walked along the long line of people who had come to pay their last respects to those killed—a line stretching for some 1,500 meters—and could not get out of my head the refrain heard over the radio: "Shot... Died of injuries... Shot... Crushed by a tank... Shot..." Surnames, first names, years of birth. Sixty years old, 20, 24.... Lithuania is in mourning. An account has been opened to assist families of the dead. A state commission is working to organize the funerals.

There are no flowers in the city.

Lithuanian legislative deputies honored the victims' memory with a minute's silence. It was on an appeal from them that people rushed to defend the television center building. The main item on the sittings' agenda in recent days has been how to emerge from the crisis, which has moved rapidly since the fall of the government and reached its apogee during the night of 13 January. Disagreements have also arisen in the Cabinet of Ministers. J. Jermalavicius, head of the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee Ideological Department, spoke of them earlier at a news conference. He claimed that some ministers support the National Salvation Committee. However, because of the lack of specific data and names, no one attached significance to this. On Monday this information was confirmed by Lithuania's new prime minister, already the third—G. Vagnorius: "It has come to light at this complex time that not all members of the government are remaining totally loyal to the temporary fundamental law of the Lithuanian Republic. As chairman of the government, I declare that in the event of a minister of the Lithuanian Republic or any other official refusing to fulfill the republic's laws or the leadership's legitimate instructions, he will bear full responsibility before the Lithuanian people, to whom such brutal violence has happened."

To all appearances, the government, and the cabinet in particular, remains the most painful problem for Lithuania's executive power. And it is possible that we will witness a new conflict between legislative and executive power—now on grounds of political disagreements. Meanwhile, deputies have set up a commission for a juridical assessment of the National Salvation Committee's activity. Lithuanian officials are making far more accusations against the committee than against the military.

The Council of the Federation delegation is continuing its work. On Monday it visited the labor collectives of a number of enterprises and met with the city's public. There were other meetings too. In the evening delegation members N. Dementey, B. Oleynik, L. Ter-Petrosyan, and V. Foteyev together with two Lithuanian legislative deputies—J. Karvjalis and R. Survila—and also Army General V. Varennikov, USSR deputy defense minister, withstood a real assault from wives of Vilnius Garrison servicemen and mainly former, retired soldiers. They demanded presidential rule and protection of human rights particularly those of officers' families, and cited specific evidence of persecution of them. The general mood was reflected by one woman who refused, like many others, to give her name: "I am afraid...." The chief emphasis was placed on families' social privations. And not without reason. Many families have lived on the garrison's territory for a long time, huddled together with three or four people in 10-meter rooms and in hostels. They have no residence permit and, thus, no food coupons. Housing construction has run to seed. All this is true. To put it bluntly, the city authorities have not spoiled them with attention. And then there are also the calls of "occupiers, migrants, conquerors...."

How do the members of the Council of the Federation view the prospects for a dialogue after two days in Lithuania?

"The situation is very complex," V. Foteyev, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Committee for Questions of Glasnost and Citizens' Rights and Appeals, said. "Owing to the shortage of time allotted to the delegation, I will not venture to draw peremptory, categorical conclusions. However events may develop subsequently, they must be put on a footing of peaceful dialogue between the opposing sides. There must be no more bloodshed. This is ruled out. I believe that reason must prevail."

The delegation's presence has undoubtedly reduced the tension to some extent. K. Motieka, deputy chairman of the Lithuanian Supreme Soviet, has had meetings with representatives of the military command. Under an accord between V. Landsbergis and M. Gorbachev instructions have been given to admit Health Minister Yu. Olek to installations which have been taken over. True, the minister has not been allowed past the ground floor. So full information about possible casualties and "prisoners" has not been obtained. The Lithuanian side maintains that approximately 30 people have gone

missing since last Friday. Although, for well-known reasons, this figure is very variable: Someone is found, while someone else, conversely, is discovered to be missing. More than 60 people are lying injured in hospital in a grave condition.

Radio "Sovetskaya Litva" ["Soviet Lithuania"] has begun regular transmissions. Not without the assistance of TASS the top-secret National Salvation Committee has revealed one name. He is A. Naudzunus, secretary of the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee. He is, incidentally, a military man by profession. The republic Supreme Soviet has adopted a special resolution on this organization's activity on the territory of Lithuania. TASS, Central Television, and "a number of Soviet newspapers," which are accused of disinforming the country's population about the Vilnius events in another resolution of parliament, come in for a negative assessment of their work. And at a meeting between the Council of the Federation delegation and servicemen's families "Vzglyad," the Television News Service, and other "democrat journalists" came under fire. In conversations in the lobbies your correspondent, likewise included in that cohort by excited women, also withstood the fire of female criticism.

'Vzglyad' Reporter Relates Vilnius Experiences

LD1501191291

[Editorial Report] Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian at 1200 GMT on 15 January carries a live, seven-minute studio interview with Yelena Sarkisyan, "who works on the popular television program 'Vzglyad'." Sarkisyan has just returned from a trip to Vilnius as part of a tourist group. Radio Rossii announcer Oleg Klimov is the interviewer.

Sarkisyan begins by describing the atmosphere and the peaceful scene in front of the legislature building on 12 January as some 80,000 people waited there in case of an attack by paratroopers, following the earlier takeover of Press House. She went to the television and radio center on 13 January, after the takeover, and describes the severity of the damage to the buildings: "It looked as though someone had planted several bombs. There were no window panes in any of the residential buildings, nor were there in either of the two Gosteleradio buildings. It looked as though a battle of some kind had taken place, though when we saw video materials later, it became clear that tanks and BTR's [armored personnel carriers] had arrived in the night and driven off all the people who were there, and as a result of that skirmish with unarmed—I repeat, unarmed—people, 14 people have died up to now there. It would say that this was done at the request of the National Salvation Committee of Lithuania."

Klimov interrupts: "Incidentally, a question: Has it been possible to clarify, or is it even known in Vilnius, who the members of that mysterious organization are? Here in Moscow we have been unable to establish anything."

Sarkisyan replies: "It is not really known in Vilnius, either. Some names were suggested to me, but nobody—and I emphasise, nobody—would confirm a connection with the National Salvation Committee, and the explanation was that people are afraid for their families. But, I am sorry, but if they are afraid for their families, how is it that they are preparing to save Lithuania, because the kind of saving it needs at the moment is from the paratroopers, from the Soviet Army. I am prepared to affirm that to any tribunal or court. Take the fact of a 14-year-old girl being killed merely because she was near the television building on Sunday night to Monday morning."

Sarkisyan goes on to describe the scene outside the legislature building now, where unarmed people are gathered, fearful that they may come under attack today or tomorrow. "There is no certainty that everything will be alright, because, despite the assurances of the Supreme Soviet commission that traveled there from Moscow that the military would not seize anything else, the radio transmission network was seized yesterday. In other words, there is effectively a blackout on information in the city."

Sarkisyan continues: "To sum up, in our view—mine and that of my colleagues who were there—this is out-and-out aggression. It is not an interethnic conflict. I say this after speaking with Russians, Jews, and Poles there, and all of them affirmed with one voice that the local authorities, headed by Landsbergis, are controlling the situation, that people support those authorities. The National Salvation Committee turns up everywhere by tank. I am sorry, but it does not represent anybody. Something has to be done about this situation. People are waiting for Moscow to say something. Thank God Boris Nikolayevich [Yeltsin] has spoken out in defense of the Lithuanian republic. He made his appeal to soldiers stationed in Lithuania now, and that was received with understanding. People have come up to us and voiced gratitude for the fact that our government—the Russian Government, the Russian leadership—is reacting in this way to the tragedy that has befallen them."

Sarkisyan adds: "One more thing I want to say: The 'Vzglyad' program has both video material and photographs confirming what I have been saying, that this is unadulterated aggression against a small republic."

Klimov then asks about the TASS account of armed guards at the television center opening fire and killing one of the servicemen. Sarkisyan says there were armed guards at the television center but that there were also people there guarding it simply with their bodies, "and when the armored personnel carriers and tanks arrived there, they engaged not the armed guard but those people who were reluctant to leave, who were protecting the building. As for the soldier allegedly killed, there are at least three versions. One is that he was not killed there; that is, he was not killed during that hour when the takeover occurred, but earlier. If there is an enquiry, it

should also have available the version we heard there; however, given that it is not official, I do not want to go into detail about it. Things are not as simple as TASS would like to have us believe, and, incidentally, that goes for the 'Vremya' program, too."

Prunskiene Interviewed on Current Situation

*AU1501134591 Budapest NEPSZAVA in Hungarian
14 Jan 91 p 1*

[Unattributed interview with former Lithuanian Prime Minister Kazimiera Prunskiene; via telephone from Vilnius, on 13 January: "A Lithuanian Government in Exile May Be Formed"]

[Text] On Sunday, 13 January, the situation was absolutely unpredictable in Vilnius. At dawn, following some heavy shooting, Soviet parachute units occupied the central television and radio building, and the siege caused not only injuries but also deaths. The TASS news agency is constantly issuing reports on military actions in the city, but these reports contradict the news that we are receiving from local leaders who can still be contacted in Vilnius.

It has been difficult to reach Vilnius by telephone, but NEPSZAVA succeeded several times on Sunday, 13 January. Thus, we were able to talk to Kazimiera Prunskiene, who has now resigned as prime minister, and who told us her opinion as a "mere" legislative representative.

[NEPSZAVA] Is it true that the new prime minister, elected on Friday, 11 January, was arrested by Soviet soldiers on Sunday, 13 January?

[Prunskiene] We have almost no information about Albertas Simenas. Given that the television and radio building was occupied at dawn, there were absolutely no radio or television programs this morning, or, to be more precise, on two occasions, news was broadcast from a Russia perspective. However, the radio in Kaunas has still been broadcasting news, and that is how I know that it is not only the prime minister who has disappeared without a trace, his family and one of his deputies have also vanished.

[NEPSZAVA] What do you think about the activities of the Committee of National Salvation, founded on Friday, an organization that is seen as pro-Russian?

[Prunskiene] In fact, I have no idea whether this committee really exists, because news reports have often been contradictory. Some people believe that a few members of the Communist Party—loyal to Moscow—are grouping together and talking about a takeover, but other people cannot even say where the headquarters of this grouping would be. The most probable answer is that either Moscow, or the new local military leadership is behind this committee. In any case, the activities of the

committee are illegal because there is a government, and the Lithuanian legislature still convened on Sunday morning.

[NEPSZAVA] Is it true that during your last negotiations in Moscow, something was mentioned during your talks with Mikhail Gorbachev that spurred your resignation?

[Prunskiene] I do not wish to make any statements concerning my talks with Mikhail Gorbachev....

Prunskiene on Background to Resignation Decision

*LD1501210991 Prague CTK in English 2013 GMT
15 Jan 91*

[Text] Vilnius Jan 15 (CTK)—Former Lithuanian Premier Kazimiera Prunskiene who resigned last Tuesday considers her resignation and all connected with it part of the scenario of an armed coup in the republic prepared in Moscow.

In an interview with CTK she refuted the view of chairman of parliament Vytautas Landsbergis that she held negotiations with the Soviet leadership behind his back. On the contrary she claimed that for the initiators of the coup she and her Deputy Premier Algirdas Brazauskas constituted an obstacle. This is why the reactionary circles provoked a crisis with the aim to clear the way and many local radicals "swallowed the bait", she added.

European Reactions to Lithuanian Events Reported

*PM1601095691 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA
PRAVDA in Russian 15 Jan 91 p 3*

[Roundup of correspondents' reports from Copenhagen, Paris, Warsaw, Bonn, Budapest: "The World Is Alarmed; Our Correspondents Report on Reaction to Events in Lithuania"]

[Text]

Copenhagen By A. Baranov

At an emergency meeting in Brussels on Sunday representatives of EEC countries issued a statement in which they strongly condemned "Soviet military interference in Lithuania" and demanded explanations from Moscow about what had happened. The question of whether to curtail previously approved economic aid to the USSR "if the use of force is not immediately halted" is now seriously on the EEC agenda. According to reports from NATO headquarters, a joint statement is also being prepared there, pointing out that what has happened may have a serious negative effect on the development of events right across Europe.

The north European countries, which traditionally follow the situation in the Baltic region with particular interest, have also registered an unequivocal and

extremely sharp protest against the use of military force in Lithuania. Danish Prime Minister P. Schluter sent a personal message to M.S. Gorbachev in which among other things he conveyed his "deep disappointment at the recent events in Lithuania," stating that they "will very obviously have a negative effect on the possibility of continuing future cooperation with the USSR."

Swedish Prime Minister I. Carlsson told journalists that his country's relations with the Soviet Union have "suffered appreciable harm" as a result of the events in Lithuania.

On Sunday Soviet ambassadors to Denmark, Sweden, and Norway were summoned to these countries' Foreign Ministries, where protest notes were handed to them. Demonstrations "in support of the people of Lithuania" and condemning "Moscow's actions" were held in front of the USSR embassy buildings in Copenhagen and Stockholm.

Paris

By N. Dolgoplov

In France the events in Lithuania are being treated very seriously indeed in all circles and at all levels. On Sunday French and German Foreign Ministers R. Dumas and H. Genscher discussed a joint declaration entitled "Military Intervention" and called on M.S. Gorbachev "to give the order to stop the use of force." They accused the USSR of "violating the principles of the Paris Charter" adopted on 21 November 1990. There have been calls for all French aid to the Soviet Union to be immediately stopped.

Warsaw

By V. Shutkevich

I have never seen such a serious and malicious upsurge of anti-Soviet feeling as I saw last Sunday in Warsaw. The atmosphere was inflamed by the television evening news which featured Lithuanian Foreign Minister A. Saudargas.

By late evening thousands of inhabitants of the Polish capital were moving toward the Soviet Embassy building to protest against the "second occupation of Lithuania." Lighted candles were placed all around the perimeter fence. The homemade placards carried by the demonstrators compared the current sending of paratroopers into Vilnius to the Iraqi actions in Kuwait. The crowd chanted: "Hands off Lithuania!" "Soviets, go home!" Offensive and often plain abusive shouting was directed at our head of state. A group of enraged youths attempted to break through the gates and get on to Soviet Embassy territory.

Bonn

By E. Savishchev

At an emergency session of the German Bundestag debates on the situation in the Persian Gulf and in a new "hot spot"—Lithuania—lasted for more than three

hours. "We emphatically condemn the policy which has led to loss of life in Lithuania," Federal Chancellor H. Kohl stressed, "and we present our deep condolences to the families of the dead. We are deeply worried about the future of the policy of reforms and new thinking in the Soviet Union, which is acknowledged around the world to have opened up new and positive prospects for development in Europe. I have sent a personal message to the Soviet president, in which I reminded him of the need to comply strictly with the principles proclaimed by the Helsinki Act in the case of Lithuania," Kohl stressed. "On this basis Lithuania must be given the opportunity to freely choose for itself the way in which it will develop. I hope that a solution to the Lithuanian problem will be found by political means," the chancellor stressed.

Budapest

By A. Kaverznev

The headlines in Hungarian newspapers speak for themselves: "The Empire Strikes Back," "Solidarity With Lithuania," "Moscow's Aggression—Debated by Parliament?"

"I am following the brave struggle to defend Lithuania's constitutional status carefully and with deep sympathy," Hungarian National Assembly Chairman Gyorgy Szabados stressed in a telegram to his Lithuanian colleagues

Solton on West's Reaction to Lithuanian Events

LD1501171491 Moscow World Service in English
1210 GMT 15 Jan 91

[Yuri Solton commentary]

[Text] Western political leaders and the media are worried about the Lithuanian developments. Here is a commentary by Yuri Solton, and this is what he writes:

Although their concern is natural, some political leaders and the media are overworking the situation. They are concerned whether the recent developments mean that Moscow has given up its quest for democracy and is about to bend to dictatorship. Also, would that mean a fallback in Soviet foreign policy? Many Soviet citizens are as worried as westerners and are pondering the same questions. Although a balanced approach seems better than hasty conclusions and actions, some in the West go as far as questioning the need for the upcoming Soviet-American summit, and are anxious to see Western aid suspended and economic sanctions introduced against Moscow almost right away. They claim a Soviet threat is again present in the world.

Introducing democracy is not an easy matter in a vast and multifaceted nation. The past reminds itself. Inter-ethnic clashes break out. Although no reform can be introduced by force of arms, confrontation is also to be avoided. President Gorbachev and other Soviet leaders feel pain about the tragic developments that they never (?wanted) to happen. Although Moscow has been criticized for the lack of foresight and resolution, it can

hardly be accused of using the army to establish what it considers the right rule in the Soviet republics. Both the Soviet president and parliament feel all the conflicts and controversial issues, including that of secession from the Soviet Union, must be settled by political means and in line with the present legislation. No action must put in peril human lives.

No matter how difficult it was to get rid of outdated stereotypes, Moscow has rejected any interference in the affairs of Eastern Europe, and has gone so far as to realize that interference will cause a split in the Warsaw Pact. It also kept away from the process of German unification. This in no way means that Moscow is after a western *carte blanche* for handling its domestic affairs. All the Soviet Union expects from the West is an objective approach to the situation and problems. It is willing to hear criticism and accept good advice, but an opinionated approach sometimes seems an attempt to put pressure on this country and interfere in its domestic affairs. It can only put additional obstacles in the way of democratic reform that Moscow has no intention of giving up. It would also damage normalized East-West relations.

TASS Reports 'Mixed Reaction' to Events

LD1501174291 Moscow TASS in English 1720 GMT
15 Jan 91

["Mixed Reaction in USSR to Events in Lithuania"—by TASS correspondent Igor Agabekov]

[Text] Moscow January 15 TASS—The tense situation in Lithuania has aroused concern across the Soviet Union, with demonstrations and rallies in many cities to demand clear explanation of what happened in the Baltic republic.

Moscow city councillors on Monday denounced the seizure of the Vilnius TV tower early on Sunday. At an emergency meeting here, they demanded that those who had ordered the use of force should "be brought to account".

The deputies elected a commission to draft a joint statement on Lithuania, which will be put before the Moscow city council meeting on Wednesday.

The Presidium of the Leningrad city council protested against the use of armed force in Lithuania, TASS correspondent Nikolay Kondratenko reported from Leningrad.

The council said in a statement that "the threat of lawfully elected bodies of power in the Lithuanian Republic being overthrown represents a serious danger not only to Baltic peoples but also to the fate of democracy in Russia and other constituent republics".

The leaders of the Leningrad region Communist Party committee, for their part, blamed the crisis in Lithuania on "political forces that have, in defiance of the federal

Constitution and Soviet legislation, set course at breaking away from the Soviet Union and restoring the undemocratic bourgeois system".

The Leningrad Communist leaders added in a statement that Lithuanian authorities connive at a "runaway harassment campaign against dissidents", that the Lithuanian Communist Party is effectively outlawed and that Soviet Army servicemen are a target of discrimination.

The Armenian reaction to developments in Lithuania has been "unequivocal", according to TASS correspondent Lavrenty Azroyan in Yerevan.

He reported that the Presidium of the republican Supreme Soviet and government believe that "the complication of the situation in Lithuania has been, in actual fact, a result of the centre's lop-sided, unrealistic policies on democratisation and the free determination of nations".

President Mikhail Gorbachev told the federal parliament on Monday that popular discontent in Lithuania with local leaders' gross breaches of the Constitution "has reached a critical mass".

Accusing the Lithuanian leadership of following a "path of confrontation", he said his impression is that opposing forces in the republic have not yet realised the need (for) political dialogue to search for a way out.

Military Coup Would Herald 'End of Perestroika'

PM1501151191 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA
PRAVDA in Russian 15 Jan 91 p 1

[I. Sichka report: "Are We on Course for a Right-Wing Coup?"]

[Text] Events that seemed outwardly unconnected have linked up to form a single chain over the last few days. Everything has acquired an internal logic and interconnection. I will take the risk of surmising that the last time events developed according to a similar scenario was during the suppression of the "bourgeois counterrevolution" in Czechoslovakia in 1968.

At first, passions were insistently kindled for a long time over the oppression of the Russian-speaking population in the Baltic. Then mysterious explosions began to be heard, which caused virtually no damage but gave the man in the street the impression that armed gangs of terrorists were active somewhere close at hand. At the same time, the USSR president began to come under pressure from several quarters, primarily over CPSU and military-industrial complex structures [strukturny], with a view to introducing presidential rule in the Baltic. Additional assault troop subunits were transferred to the Baltic on the pretext of safeguarding the fall Army draft....

The National Salvation Committee has appeared on the political scene in Lithuania from heaven knows where.

Its representatives' attempts to infiltrate the Supreme Soviet building and then the television center ended with an appeal from the "National Salvationists" for aid from the military.

All this is happening at a time when the attention of the whole world has been diverted to another explosive region—the Persian Gulf. What is more, most central newspapers have not been published over these two days. Trains are not running and Aeroflot flights have been canceled. Central Television and All-Union Radio are broadcasting one-sided information.

In practice we are dealing with an attempted armed invasion which is only somewhat camouflaged as "request by the working people." Why did this begin in Lithuania? I would remind you that this is the republic in which the Communist Party (CPSU Platform) has been outlawed since the beginning of the year. It was this party's representatives that have formed the backbone of the aforementioned national salvation committee.

What were the aims of the armed action in Vilnius? The dissolution of the legislature and the holding of a referendum under martial law on the unity of the USSR and new legislative elections. You can easily imagine: The abolition of the declaration of independence and the coming to power of representatives of structures based on the CPSU platform who have lost their influence in the republic.

If a military coup were successful, this would herald the end of perestroika, if you understand this term as a process of democratization. After which we are assured of international boycott and isolation.

It would be naive to think that events in Vilnius are the result of chance coincidence or "unofficial activity" on the part of the local military leadership. This action was preceded by excessively thorough preparations.

According to the strictest criteria, it has failed. The organizers were unable to present everyone with an accomplished fact. The legally elected organs of power are still operating in Lithuania. But the seat of tension is growing. On Sunday a Latvian Communist Party (CPSU Platform) Central Committee plenum also set up a public salvation committee. Are the troops awaiting another appeal for aid?

Reasons for Lithuanian 'Crisis' Assessed

LD1501230491 Moscow TASS International Service
in Russian 1537 GMT 15 Jan 91

[By TASS Political Observer Albert Balebanov: "Why Has There Been a Tragedy in Lithuania"]

[Text] [No dateline as received]—On 16 January in Vilnius all those who died during the disorders in the early hours of 13 January outside the republican television building will be buried. I fully share the grief of the

families who lost their dear ones. At the same time the sad ceremony forces us to consider the causes of the tragedy which occurred.

Who is to blame for it? At present it is still difficult to give an exhaustive answer to this question. Moreover, the USSR Procuracy investigation group and the Council of the Federation delegation which are in Lithuania have not yet completed their work or published their findings on what happened; however, one thing is clear. Everything started with Lithuania's violation of the USSR Constitution and Union laws which have been in force in the republic for five decades.

Whose actions lay at the root of the crisis which recently led to human victims? It is possible to answer this question having analyzed the events. But they started with the "palace coup" which was effected by the leaders of "Sajudis" in the early hours of 11 March 1990, when V. Landsbergis and the legislators backing him unilaterally adopted an act revoking the force of the USSR Constitution on Lithuanian territory. The acts of the Lithuanian Supreme Soviet which then followed led to anti-constitutional structures being created in the republic. The majority of the acts it adopted were held by the USSR Constitutional Supervision Committee to contradict the tenets of Union laws and the country's Constitution. What is noteworthy in this is that while pursuing a course toward separation from the USSR V. Landsbergis and his entourage have continued to hold on tenaciously to economic ties with the Union, without which, as is clear, Lithuania would immediately find itself on the verge of bankruptcy. In Vilnius it appears that they decided from the outset legally and politically to leave the Union, but economically "to linger" within it.

There is more. By their actions the Lithuanian authorities opted to openly trample on human rights, condemning the Russian-speaking and Polish populations to the fate of "second rate people". This was done in the name of Lithuania's independence and its democratization! Things got to the stage where, with the blatant encouragement of the republican government in Lithuania "blacklists" of participants active in establishing Soviet power in Lithuania began to be compiled. The aim—to declare these people enemies and then to deal with them.

The growing discrimination of people by nationality, a most complete absence of any kind of pluralism of views and press freedom, constant provocations of the units and subunits of the USSR Armed Forces deployed in Lithuania and individual servicemen and members of their families, and the unjustified price increases in the republic which affected the living standard of the population led to a growth of dissatisfaction and a split in society. People were particularly whipped up by the fact that former property owners began to pay visits to Lithuania presenting demands for their property—the houses and land to be returned to them. As a result the

Lithuanian peasantry, a significant portion of which advocated the rapid introduction of presidential rule, was mobilized.

At that moment the growing confrontation turned into an open struggle. Attempts by the USSR president through an appeal to the Lithuanian Soviet Socialist Republic Supreme Soviet to calm down the situation and to relax the tension brought about by the hasty actions of the legislature and the Government of Lithuania were not merely just ignored but were rejected in the crudest manner as intervention by the president of "a foreign state." There was not the slightest attempt to look into the true causes of the crisis.

I do not want to be misunderstood. I immediately make the proviso: I am categorically against the use of the armed forces against the civilian population. However, the question arises: Were the "Sajudis" supporters who cordoned off the television station the civilian population? There is evidence that many of them were armed. The chief of the "Sajudis" who stood at the television studio, Butkevicius, called on his supporters not to fear the soldiers because their weapons were loaded with blank cartridges. Is it not for this reason that it was precisely among the servicemen that the first victim of the conflict appeared?

The leaders of Lithuania and some of the newly-proclaimed democrats in Russian and other Union republics are rashly asserting that all Lithuania's problems allegedly stem from refusing it the right to secede from the Soviet Union. Nothing of the sort! No one in the Soviet Union denies the right of Union republics to leave the Soviet state in accordance with the law, on the basis of a referendum. There is simply no other more democratic, just, and peaceful way of resolving the problem. Rashness, and the unconsidered nature of the Lithuanian leaders' actions, just as statements of incitement by other figures, merely aggravate the situation and deepen the crisis which has emerged.

Vilnius International Broadcasting 'in Exile'

*LD1501232991 Vilnius International Service
in English 2230 GMT 15 Jan 91*

["Text" of opening announcement]

[Text] This is Radio Vilnius, hello and welcome to our program, broadcast in exile so to say as the Soviet paratroopers and those who stand behind them are still playing havoc in our radio and television center, but not for long we hope. Yesterday we asked you dear listeners to inform whether you can hear our broadcasts and it's very gratifying to know that people do hear us in the world. At least we've got information that the BBC has monitored our broadcasts and what is known to [the] BBC is known to the whole world.

Latvia

15 Jan Riga Rally Affirms Support for Gorbachev

*LD1501233191 Moscow Central Television First
Program Network in Russian 2151 GMT 15 Jan 91*

[From the "Television News Service" program]

[Text] TASS reported that special militia detachments confiscated weapons from the police academy building in Riga.

Also in Riga today a demonstration of several thousand opponents of Latvia's secession from the USSR took place.

At the same time a meeting of the Interfront movement took place. USSR People's Deputy Alksnis read out a resolution supporting yesterday's speech by the USSR president at the Supreme Soviet. The resolution was adopted unanimously.

Yeltsin Condemned as 'Provocateur'

*LD1501154991 Moscow TASS International Service
in Russian 1458 GMT 15 Jan 91*

[By correspondents Galina Kuchina and Valeriy Zaytsev]

[Text] Riga, 15 Jan (TASS)—A demonstration by thousands of opponents of Latvian secession from the USSR started today at 1500 in one of the stadiums in the center of Riga. Those taking part in this action—mainly representatives of the non-Latvian population—are demanding the resignation of the government, the dissolution of the legislature, and the cancellation of the three-fold price rises in the republic. The demonstrators also brought placards condemning the position of Boris Yeltsin, chairman of the Supreme Soviet of Russia, on the Baltic issue. "Yeltsin is a provocateur and traitor to the Russians in the Baltic", was written on one of them.

The organizer of the demonstration, the all-Latvia National Salvation Committee, originally planned to hold this protest act on the Doma Square in the town center or on the embankment of the Daugava. Since the approaches to them were blocked by dump trucks, other trucks and heavy machinery, the demonstration organizers transferred it to the stadium.

According to the Riga military, no one hindered the crowd from going to the meeting place. Anatolijs Gorbunovs, the head of the Latvian legislature, appealed to the people of Riga this morning to refrain "from excessive curiosity and emotion".

The demonstration in the Riga stadium is continuing.

'Vremya' Reports on Rallies

LD1501225791

[Editorial Report] Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian in its *Vremya* newscast at 1800 GMT on 15 January carries a two-minute video report from Riga by correspondent Kasyanova who says that people who have been summoned to Riga by the Latvian Popular Front are standing by bonfires for the second night running. First-aid posts have been set up in churches, and people have been given gas masks just in case. She protests that Latvian television has accused *Vremya* of filming a one-sided Interfront meeting in Daugavpils, whereas the *Vremya* crew was actually filming the all-Latvian meeting in Riga at that time.

She says that two days ago a many-thousands strong rally was held in Riga in defense of the republic's government. Today protest rallies of the all-Latvia assembly of the working people of the republic took place in the towns of Latvia, at which no confidence was expressed in the republic's government and Supreme Soviet.

The video shows rallies and interviews with women who complain that the government deceived people during the election campaign, because they knew that it would take decades to achieve sovereignty.

Latvia Issues Resolution To 'Normalize' SituationLD1501135891 Riga Domestic Service in Latvian
1218 GMT 15 Jan 91

[Resolution No. 14 of the Council of Ministers of the Latvian Republic of 15 January "On Urgent Measures To Normalize the Situation in the Republic"—read by announcer]

[Text] The Council of Ministers of the Republic of Latvia, having examined the resolution of the 13 January 1991 plenum of the Communist Party of Latvia Central Committee, considers that the ultimatums expressed in it create possibilities for real violence against the state system existing in Latvia and its lawful institutions.

At the initiative of the People's Front of Latvia with the help of the people of Latvia, the protection of the Supreme Council and the Council of Ministers of the Republic of Latvia and other vitally important sites in the republic has been organized.

To achieve a strict adherence to legality in ensuring public order and protection of those sites, the Council of Ministers resolves:

First, to instruct Interior Minister Aloizs Vaznis to carry out all necessary undertakings for ensuring public order, and also for protecting the buildings of the Supreme Council and the Council of Ministers of the Republic of Latvia and other important sites. The Executive Committee of the city of Riga to give practical help to the Interior Ministry in carrying out these tasks.

Second, Interior Minister Aloizs Vaznis to ensure coordination of the activities of all militia workers, volunteer public order guards, and other citizens who have voluntarily joined in the protection of the more important sites in the republic, and their consistent compliance with legislation. If necessary, the radio and television to make known to the people the instructions of Interior Minister Aloizs Vaznis.

Third, Ivars Godmanis, chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Republic of Latvia, to appeal to the people of Latvia to preserve peacefulness and unity, to show a great civic responsibility in mutual relations, especially in relations with the Army, and not to allow themselves to be provoked, which would exacerbate confrontation.

Fourth, to instruct the ministers and the heads of other state administration departments of the Republic of Latvia, in being aware of the seriousness of the situation, to make all possible efforts to ensure successful functioning of the republic's national economy complex.

[Signed] Ivars Godmanis, chairman of the Council of Ministers of Latvia;

Karlis Licis, minister of government affairs of the Republic of Latvia

Resolution Barring Food to Troops OverturnedLD1501191591 Moscow TASS International Service
in Russian 1810 GMT 15 Jan 91

[By TASS correspondent Galina Kuchinas]

[Text] Riga, 15 January (TASS)—At a meeting held today between the head of the Latvian legislature Anatoliy Gorbunovs and Baltic Military District Commander Fedor Kuzmin, it was stated that although "the situation remains tense, there is no need for the Army to intervene to normalize it." This was reported by Anatoliy Gorbunovs at the morning sitting of the Supreme Soviet of the republic.

As a TASS correspondent was told in the commission for defense and security of the legislature of Latvia, talks between representatives of the republic and the USSR Armed Forces are being conducted and will be continued. In the words of the deputies, a very constructive dialogue has taken shape.

The legislature of Latvia today suspended the resolution it adopted in November according to which, in particular, the social and material provision of units of the USSR Armed Forces deployed in the republic was ended. Yesterday, the legislature ratified a treaty on the foundations of inter-state relations between the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic and Latvia which was earlier signed by Boris Yeltsin and Anatoliy Gorbunovs at a meeting in Tallinn.

The central streets of the Latvian capital are blocked by heavy trucks, tipper trucks, and heavy equipment as

before. At the building of the Supreme Soviet there is a mass of people defending it and checking the documents of all those entering. There are no longer women and children among these voluntary guards today, although there were yesterday.

As reported to a TASS correspondent by a spokesperson of the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs internal troops command, "a special purpose unit of the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs internal troops effected the removal of firearms from buildings of the Riga faculty of the Minsk Academy of the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs." The removal, said the spokesperson, was carried out "with the aim of preventing the transfer of these weapons to fighters of "guards of order" units (national armed groupings).

A thousands-strong demonstration of those opposed to Latvia's secession from the USSR started at 1500 today in a stadium in the center of Riga. Those taking part in the action—mainly representatives of the non-Latvian population—are demanding the resignation of the government, the dissolution of legislature, and the revocation of the three-fold price rises in the republic. Participants in the demonstration also brought with them placards condemning the stance of the Chairman of the Russian Supreme Soviet Boris Yeltsin on the Baltic region. "Yeltsin is a provocateur and betrayer of the Russians in the Baltic region," one of them said.

According to the Riga militia, no one prevented those who had gathered proceeding to the assembly place. The head of the Latvian legislature this morning appealed to the population of Riga to refrain "from excessive curiosity and emotions."

Finance Minister Rules Out Compromise

*LD1501215491 Hamburg DPA in German 2001 GMT
15 Jan 91*

[Text] Ludwigshafen (DPA)—Latvian Finance Minister Elmars Silins today fundamentally ruled out a political compromise with the Soviet leadership in Moscow on the question of the independence of the Republic of Latvia. Silins, who is in Germany to build up economic contacts, told the newspaper RHEINPFALZ, which is published in Ludwigshafen, that Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev has apparently embarked on a new course that rules out compromises he had earlier been prepared to make.

Parliament and the population will never accede to the demands of General Kuzmin, commander of the Baltic Military District, and accept the Union constitution that has not been approved by the legislature. Silins said he is concerned that because of the danger of war in the Gulf the problems of the Baltic republics could be forgotten in the West. However, he expressed optimism that things could normalize after some time and that the Baltic republics can solve the outstanding problems together with the Russian Federation.

Kuzmin Denies Riga Intervention Rumors

*LD1501171291 Berlin ADN in German 1639 GMT
15 Jan 91*

[Text] Riga (ADN)—Colonel General Fedor Kuzmin, chief of the Baltic military area, on Tuesday denied rumors about plans for military intervention in Riga. "No army action by the Soviet Army in Riga is planned for Tuesday," he asserted in a conversation with Latvian parliament President Anatolijs Gorbunovs. According to BALTFAX, Kuzmin did, however, add the qualification that he could not be held liable for actions taken by the special militia unit of the USSR Interior Ministry and by private individuals. The people guarding the parliament building in Riga had nothing to fear from the military, the general said. The Latvian parliament on Tuesday lifted its decision to stop food supplies to the Soviet troops. In a radio address, Gorbunovs called on the people to keep calm and not to take action against participants in the demonstration in Dynamo Stadium in the afternoon, where the pro-Soviet Interfront called for the resignation of the government and the dissolution of parliament.

Riga Soldiers Reject Kuzmin Ultimatum

*LD1501180591 Riga Domestic Service in Russian
1634 GMT 15 Jan 91*

[Statement by Riga Training Center and Dobeles Garrison 20-170 Military Unit Conference of Servicemen's Representatives; date not given—read by announcer]

[Text] We, the undersigned, having listened to and discussed the speech by Colonel General Kuzmin, Baltic Military District commander, express our disagreement and a categorical protest concerning the ultimatum to the Republic of Latvia Supreme Council and Government. Comrade Commander, you can order, but you do not have the right to speak in the name of all Baltic Military District soldiers. They have not empowered you, neither the constituency nor the entire Baltic region.

Remember that there are officers, NCO's, sergeants, and soldiers who will not believe the inventions of the political commissars, party committee secretaries, and political department representatives. You, linked with the CPSU Central Committee, are pushing us toward a black deed.

Comrade soldiers, sergeants, NCO's, officers, and dear fellow servicemen: Remember the sacred words of a soldier's oath of obligation to the motherland. They oblige us to be honest and brave, to carry out our duty worthily and honestly, and be true to the Soviet Government. But neither the government nor the oath obliges us to fight our people, women and children and unarmed old men. To suppress the freedom-loving people of the Baltics is the desire of those who are losing their cozy places at the party feeding trough, which the people fill.

Sitting at the lever of a tank or behind the wheel of an APC on the streets of Riga, understanding that the

armored vehicles driven by stupefied soldiers may soon be barred by the breasts of your own mothers in your own homeland, in Russian and other republics, do not kill. Stop! Democracy will conquer!

[Dated] 15 January 1991, Adyze

Signed by 14 people

Soviet Troops Confiscate Weapons in Riga

*LD1501152491 Moscow TASS International Service
in Lithuanian 1233 GMT 15 Jan 91*

[By TASS correspondent V. Zaytsev]

[Text] Riga, 15 Jan (TASS)—Major General Zenons Indrikovs, Latvian first deputy minister of internal affairs, reports that at 0200 soldiers of the special detachment subordinated to the USSR Interior Ministry, implementing the USSR president's decree on the ban on establishing armed formations, broke into the building of the Riga Faculty of the Minsk Higher Interior Ministry School (this establishment in the republic is now called the Latvian Police Academy).

Soldiers of the special militia detachment confiscated weapons—pistols, submachine guns, machine-guns (more than 100) and ammunition. According to Gen Z. Indrikovs, several cadets were beaten and one of them is in the hospital. By 0300 today the soldiers of the special militia detachment had left the building.

Since both the special militia detachment and the training establishment are subordinated to the USSR Interior Ministry, the republic's Interior Ministry did not take any action.

A TASS correspondent has been informed by a spokesman of the Command of Internal Troops of the USSR Interior Ministry that "on the night of 14-15 January a detachment of special purpose militia of the internal troops of the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs seized firearms from the Riga Faculty of the Minsk College of the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs" and a total of 268 firearms including pistols, assault rifles, machine-guns, a grenade launcher, and ammunition were seized.

The seizure was carried out "with the aim of preventing these weapons from being handed over to the "public order guards" (national armed formations), the spokesman said, because the authorities had earlier received information of such an intention by the leadership of the Interior Ministry of the republic. Recently the Latvian Supreme Council examined the question of giving the "public order guards" extra powers, including the right to use arms. It was only the intervention of the leadership of the union law and order bodies that halted the adoption of that decision.

In the seizure of the weapons the special detachment used "the ways and methods envisaged by current legislation." The whole operation took 30 minutes. The

spokesman of the internal troops said that during the operation "a third-year cadet suffered minor injury and has been taken to hospital with suspected concussion."

IZVESTIYA Updates Latvian Situation

*PM1501203591 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
16 Jan 91 Union Edition pp 1-2*

[Report by Correspondent I. Litvinova: "Riga: Will It Be Possible To Avoid a Clash?"]

[Text] This is how the question is now being put in statements by deputies and leaders of public movements concerned about the dramatic situation in Latvia.

On the evening of 14 January Sergey Dimanis, leader of the parliamentary opposition, telephoned Janis Dinevic, leader of the majority faction of the LPF [Latvian People's Front]:

"We cannot guarantee our deputies' safety. Clear the approaches to the Supreme Soviet. Otherwise we will be unable to participate in the session. We are ready to sit anywhere else."

Expressing regret that the opposition would not be present in the hall, the People's Front leader said that its members are unable to fulfill that demand.

During the night of 13-14 January Riga acquired barricades of vehicles, construction equipment, and wire and concrete obstructions. Only single-file, one-way movement is possible through the narrow passages between dump trucks and tractors. The thousands of people who have come to the Latvian capital seem to obey no state structures of management.

Latvian television has urged people not to travel by car during these days, as cars get in the way. But it seems that traffic could not be hampered more than it already is. Dump trucks have closed off bridges, the approaches to old Riga, and areas in the center. People are lighting bonfires, not leaving the installations which they are guarding by day and night. At one time it began to seem to me that radio and television were governing life in the Latvian capital. They issue all kinds of commands: where to be fed, where to be accommodated, where to go.

Unblocking the city and the possibility of representatives of various movements gaining access to the state mass media in order to ease tension were the subject of the talks which A. Gorbunovs, chairman of the Latvian Supreme Soviet, held with various parties and organizations on the morning of 14 January. Alas, neither the Supreme Soviet nor the government is able to remove the barricades today.

In order to avoid a possible clash, the organizers of the all-Latvian working people's assembly decided to change its venue, because both Cathedral Square and the Daugava embankment are encumbered with heavy equipment. Vehicles with special purpose militia detachment fighters, who were passing through, were blockaded

on one of the bridges. They had literally to escape from captivity. At almost midnight on 15 January [as published] there was an attack on the Interfront's headquarters. Approximately 10 people were involved in it, and they had to break down the lower door to the building. The Interfront members on duty managed to beat them back with the help of fire extinguishers. A. Vaznis, the republic's minister of internal affairs, voiced concern in connection with the incident. The attackers have not been arrested.

The government has made a whole number of compromises in order to keep workers from striking and has eased, to begin with, the burdens associated with the price rise. Will these concessions satisfy the section of the population which is ready to go on strike?

Not only are passions in the republic inflamed but they are being further inflamed. Latvian television was on the air throughout the night of 14-15 January. Radio "Sodruzhestvo" ["Community"] reported that it would transmit important news at 0600 on 15 January.

At 0600 on Tuesday, Radio "Sodruzhestvo" carried information on the new venue for the all-Latvian working people's assembly. Latvian radio reported the statement which the Latvian Government addressed to the Union republic Supreme Soviets and governments following its extraordinary session. It speaks of threats of the violent overthrow of Latvia's lawfully elected Supreme Soviet and government on the part of the Communist Party and the leadership of the Baltic Military District. At the same time the statement by Colonel General F. Kuzmin, commander of the district, at the "roundtable" conducted by A. Gorbunovs can be read in the Supreme Soviet Press Center. The commander confirmed his readiness to cooperate with the power structures in the republic. Like the other journalists who attended the Latvian Communist Party Central Committee plenum, I can confirm that no calls for violence were adopted there either.

Deputies of the People's Front faction gave a standing ovation to the treaty between Latvia and Russia, ratified on 14 January.

In a comment on this treaty, M. Gavrilov, a deputy of the "Equal Rights" faction, declared that it opens up the way to the adoption of any discriminatory law on citizenship in Latvia. Reminding his listeners that not one of the drafts of the law on citizenship submitted to the legislature by the People's Front faction contains a democratic solution to the question or grants equal rights to all who live in Latvia, Deputy M. Gavrilov said that the "Equal Rights" faction will ask Russian deputies not to ratify the treaty as it opens up the way to a further stepping up of confrontation in the republic.

On the morning of 15 January, a plenary sitting in the Supreme Soviet began with a discussion of the defense staff's documents.

On Tuesday morning, the Latvian Supreme Soviet adopted a decision to suspend the resolution of 14 November last year, which discriminates against servicemen.

AP reports: A spokesman for the Latvian legislature has reported that USSR internal troop subunits under the command of the Latvian MVD [Ministry of Internal Affairs] have taken over the building of the Latvian Police Academy located in a suburb of Riga. No serious incidents occurred during the implementation of this action.

According to LPF data, on 14 January an MVD subunit also took over a police station on the outskirts of Riga.

'National Salvation Committee' Organized

LD1601083991 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian
0700 GMT 16 Jan 91

[Text] The situation in Latvia remains alarming. During the night, bonfires burned in Doma Square and on the streets of Riga. Warming themselves at the bonfires were thousands of people who continue to guard the buildings of the Supreme Soviet, the Council of Ministers, the television center, the telegraph, and radio.

Today the Latvian Council of Ministers will examine the question of gradually handing these facilities over to the protection of the forces of the republican Ministry of Internal Affairs. The Latvian Supreme Soviet and Council of Ministers adopted additional decisions on the social protection of the people under conditions of new prices for foodstuffs. The force of a resolution by the republican legislature of 14 November on the inadmissibility of the activity of special militia units and armed forces on the territory of the Latvian Republic, which made provision for the cessation of social and material provision for servicemen, has been suspended. Our correspondent adds that the All-Latvian National Salvation Committee has declared that the formation of new organs of state power has begun.

Rubiks, Kauls Head Committee

LD1601115191 Riga Domestic Service in Latvian
1101 GMT 16 Jan 91

[Text] Some days ago the National Salvation Committee was created in Latvia. It has two deputy chairmen: Alfreds Rubiks, chairman of the local branch of the USSR Communist Party, and Alberts Kauls, former member of the USSR Presidential Council. The National Salvation Committee is trying to introduce USSR President Gorbachev's direct rule in Latvia. They want political power in Latvia to be in their hands.

Committee Says Latvia 'Must Remain' in USSR

LD1601002191 Moscow Central Television First
Program Network in Russian 1800 GMT 15 Jan 91

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] An all-Latvian meeting of working people has adopted a message to the population of Latvia, the peoples of Russia, the Supreme Soviet of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic and the USSR, and USSR President Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev.

The All-Latvian Committee for Social Salvation has made a political statement which says in part: The policy that is being carried out by the Supreme Soviet and government of establishing a bourgeois dictatorship has placed the people of Latvia on the verge of economic collapse and the curtailment of democracy. The All-Latvian Committee for Social Salvation calls for a sovereign, law-governed Latvia within a renewed Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. A decision about the secession of the Latvian Soviet Socialist Republic from the USSR can be made only through a nationwide referendum and through legislative procedure.

Soviet Latvia, the political statement says, must remain within a renewed Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

Latvians Guard Public Buildings in Riga

LD1501231291 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 2151 GMT 15 Jan 91

[Report by correspondent S. Antsupov; from the "Television News Service" program]

[Text] For 48 hours the buildings of the Latvian Supreme Soviet, the Council of Ministers, radio and television, and communications have been guarded by the inhabitants of the republic. Peasants came to Riga in tractors. With the help of agricultural, construction, and timber-working equipment, they blocked off the approaches to important locations. We hope that the 14 victims in Lithuania is sufficient and that there will be no military actions in Latvia.

The Supreme Soviet has also been working without a break for 48 hours. The latest decisions: the treaty on the basis of interstate relations between the USSR and Latvia has been ratified, as has the validity of the articles of the decision on ending the provision of military units on the territory of the Latvian republic. That is how the talks between Latvia and the USSR on the status of armed forces on the territory of the republic have begun.

Latvians Asked To Maintain Guard

LD1601092491 Riga Domestic Service in Latvian 0829 GMT 16 Jan 91

[Statement of the Board of the People's Front of Latvia; place and date not given—read by announcer]

[Text] The announcement by the Latvian Soviet Socialist Republic National Salvation Committee on seizing all power into its hands has made the situation in Latvia dangerous. We request all those people participating in the defense of objects important to the people

not to disperse, not to move equipment, and to remain in their places until they receive a special announcement from the Supreme Soviet.

Riga Radio Urges Continuing Vigilance

LD1601013591 Riga Domestic Service in Latvian 0000 GMT 16 Jan 91

[Text] Respected guards, wherever you are: Do not listen to any rumors which could spread in some places. Opponents since time immemorial have used this method of spreading rumors. All of you should remain in your places.

As during the last hours at the information service of the People's Front of Latvia, no especially alarming reports have arrived, it appears that the night might pass quietly. So then, the people still are firmly holding their positions. But, despite this, let us not become less vigilant.

Estonia

Rally Calls for Presidential Rule, Strike

LD1501173791 Tallinn Domestic Service in Estonian 1500 GMT 15 Jan 91

[Text] Should the demands presented to the Republic of Estonia Supreme Soviet not be met within 24 hours or should they be met incompletely, work collectives will announce a general strike on 17 January. An ultimatum to this effect was presented today at the rally on Toompäa, attended mainly by the Russian-speaking population. The demands presented to the republican Supreme Soviet on the part of the "Equal Rights" and the communist faction deputy groups aim at legislatively stopping all resolutions on price rises and restoring the prices to their 15 October 1990 levels. It is also being demanded that retail price increases must be accompanied by a corresponding increase in the population's social welfare and compensation.

A demand was presented that taxation laws should be reviewed and brought into line with the laws valid in USSR Union republics. It is demanded that the USSR Constitution be restored and the USSR president's decrees fulfilled in Estonia, and that laws and resolutions which breach human rights—including those of the military—be annulled.

The demands include a point that deals with changing the composition of the cabinet of ministers and the establishment of a new government according to the republic's ethnic composition.

Participants in the rally handed over authorization for all organizational and political work to a coordination committee. This committee represents work collectives, councils of people's deputies, parties, voluntary organizations and movements which favor the socialist path of development and an independent Estonia within the composition of the Soviet Federation.

Several speakers expressed their discontent at Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR] leader Boris Yeltsin's latest steps in Tallinn. An address of the Communist Party of Estonia on the CPSU platform to the peoples of Estonia was read. An address to the USSR president was adopted, accompanied by approving applause. This address demands that presidential rule be established in Estonia. Addresses to Latvian and Lithuanian workers and a telegram to Mr. Boris Yeltsin, chairman of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet, were also adopted.

The rally on Toompea proceeded peacefully. Speakers appealed to everybody to preserve peace and order. After the rally was over the participants marched past the Lenin monument in an organized fashion.

Moscow TV Reports Protest

LD1601004991 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 1800 GMT 15 Jan 91

[Text] [Announcer] A protest rally against the Estonian Government took place today in Tallinn.

[Correspondent H. Lenk] People began gathering for the rally next to the government house early in the morning. They arrived on buses from other regions of Estonia and also from neighboring Leningrad oblast. In the main they are representatives of work collectives at large industrial enterprises subordinate to the Union, while the organizers of the meeting are a number of public movements representing the interests of the Russian-speaking population in Estonia. It is namely this population which has recently been reacting particularly sharply to the drop in living standards in the republic. Our future is under the threat of poverty; the introduction of norms for the sale of sugar, groats, and flour can be seen as an insult to the people—this was written on one of the leaflets being distributed today among those at the rally.

In their speeches, speakers also put forward concrete demands. In the event that they are not fulfilled, those attending the rally threatened to start strikes at their enterprises. These demands are no more and no less than the resignation of the present government and the dissolution of the Supreme Soviet of Estonia.

[Announcer] Those present at the rally adopted a message to USSR President Gorbachev demanding that he perform his constitutional duty and protect the economic and social rights and freedoms of USSR citizens up to the point of introducing presidential rule in the republic.

Appeal to Gorbachev Adopted

LD1501190491 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1830 GMT 15 Jan 91

[By TASS correspondent Aleksandr Kharchenko]

[Text] Tallinn, 15 January (TASS)— At a meeting of many thousands of working people of Estonia held today

outside government house in the capital of the republic, appeals were adopted to Mikhail Gorbachev, president of the USSR, and to the peoples of Latvia and Lithuania.

In the appeal to the USSR president, the participants in the meeting, representing mainly the non-Estonian population, the Communist Party of Estonia (CPSU), and servicemen, expressed concern for their future and for the socio-political situation in Estonia. "Your decrees are ignored, and the formation of state structures for ensuring Estonia's separation from the USSR continues. Laws are operating in Estonia which violate human rights," the document says.

The participants in the meeting demanded of the USSR president "fulfillment of and his constitutional duty, the defense of the economic and social rights and liberties of citizens of the USSR," including the introduction of presidential rule in Estonia.

The appeal to the peoples of Latvia and Lithuania notes that "national separatists, having seized power, are leading the peoples of the Baltic region down a political blind alley to economic ruin."

The Central Council of Trade Unions of Estonia, for its part, called on working people today to refrain from strikes and protest meetings which "might be used by the conservative forces."

Price Increase Decision Rescinded

LD1501203391 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1900 GMT 15 Jan 91

[Text] Estonia—The Mayak radio station has already reported that a meeting took place in Tallinn today in protest at the policy of the republican leadership and, first and foremost, at the increases in the price of products. As a result the decision on price increases has been rescinded. The organizer of this demonstration was the Joint Council of Workers' Kollektivs [JCWK]. Our correspondent, Aleksey Kolochev, linked up with (Artur Kopykin) chairman of the JCWK Estonia executive committee. Listen to a recording of this conversation.

[Begin recording] [(Kopykin)] Since this morning, in Estonia, rallies have been held in Tallinn, Kohtla-Jarve, Hiiumaa, Narva, Tartu, and other places.

[(Kolochev)] Who organized them?

[(Kopykin)] The organizers of these rallies were workers' collectives who were angry at the price increases and the actions of the government and the Supreme Soviet of the republic.

[(Kolochev)] What were the main slogans being used?

[(Kopykin)] The main demands put by the working people were that a legislative decision be immediately adopted on stopping all, [changes thought] the resolution on price increases, that the republican laws on taxation be examined, that the validity of the constitutions of the Soviet Union and the Estonian Soviet Socialist Republic

be restored in the republic, that the decrees of the president be fulfilled, and that those laws and decisions which violate human rights, including military servicemen, be reviewed.

[Kolochev] Tell me, is the number of those attending the rallies known, even approximately?

[(Kopykin)] In Tallinn, for example, the assessment is that there were over 15,000, in Kohla-Jarva over 3,000.

[Kolochev] What was the atmosphere like there?

[(Kopykin)] Calm.

[Kolochev] Did the Army take part in any way?

[(Kopykin)] Representatives of the Army did take part.

[Kolochev] But there were no military units there?

[(Kopykin)] No, there were not.

[Kolochev] What will the future activities of the JSWK be?

[(Kopykin)] Its future activities will be to [word indistinct] coordinate with the coordinating committee, depending on what their answers are.

[Kolochev] How long will you have to wait for an answer?

[(Kopykin)] Twenty-four hours.

[Kolochev] And after that?

[(Kopykin)] And after that we will act according to how the situation develops.

[Kolochev] What do you imply by that?

[(Kopykin)] Only the coordinating committee can tell you that, but at the moment it will not be able to.

[Kolochev] What is the reason for its silence?

[(Kopykin)] The reason for the silence? So as not to make a fool of itself and not to reveal its plans in advance.

[Kolochev] Of whom does the coordinating committee consist?

[(Kopykin)] All public movements, representatives of workers' kollektivs, representatives of the party and people's deputies who stand for a socialist choice. [end recording]

Intermovement Threatens 'Revolutionary Methods'

LD1501182691 Berlin ADN in German 1742 GMT
15 Jan 91

[Text] Tallinn (ADN)—The Estonian Intermovement intends to use all the means it can to force the resignation of the government and the dissolution of legislature if its demands are not fulfilled. This was stated to BALTFAX by Vladimir Vinogradov, a member of the movement's

Coordination Council. This meant "political and revolutionary methods of struggle", he said. There could also be a political general strike, in which 90 percent of the Estonian energy supply would be cut.

The Intermovement, which comprises mainly representatives of the non-Estonian population, demands that price increases be rescinded, that the USSR Constitution be restored to validity on Estonian territory, and that a government of national reconciliation be formed.

Government Discusses Emergency Measures 15 Jan

LD1601111191 Tallinn Domestic Service
in Estonian 1800 GMT 15 Jan 91

[Report by unidentified correspondent on government meeting chaired by Edgar Savisaar]

[Excerpts] The ultimatum delivered by the empire-minded forces was under discussion. By causing confusion and stoppages in power engineering, transportation, services, food industry, and other things, the empire-minded forces attempt to direct the population's discontent at the government. The government has adopted a special resolution for action under the conditions of possible special conditions in the economy. Duties were allocated to ensure—according to the situation—electricity and heating supplies for the population and industrial installations; also allocations in the liquid fuel consumption regime was discussed. The Ministry of Trade and the Ministry of Material resources were charged with the task of implementing a system for supplying basic goods to the population under special conditions.

The government paid particular attention to the problem of prices. The ultimatum delivered to the Supreme Soviet demands a reduction in prices and services tariffs to the level of 15 October 1990. The prime minister noted that if one gives in to the ultimatum, the power engineers and miners in northeast Estonia, as well as railway workers, would suffer most. Evidently it is difficult for the power engineers and miners in northeast Estonia to understand the demand to reduce prices to the 15 October 1990 level because it is namely the low price of electricity and oil-shale which has damaged the economic interests of oil-shale enterprises and power stations. [passage omitted]

Under a government resolution, the emergency headquarters for special conditions has resumed its work. It was set up on 15 May. Its activity had been frozen from June until now.

Ruutel Says Independence To Take 'Years'

PM1501204191 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
16 Jan 91 Union Edition p 2

[Report by correspondent L. Levitskiy: "Estonian Supreme Soviet Confirms Its Choice"]

[Text] Tallinn—The Estonian legislature session began unexpectedly. Without a debate and by a majority of votes the deputies adopted a resolution granting emergency powers to J. Nugis, speaker of the Supreme Soviet. He was accorded the right to determine the course of the session's work and the procedure for discussing questions there.

To be on the safe side, all the rooms and corridors in the building where legislature sits are full of members of the militia and the "kodukaitse"—the additional guard organization set up by the government.

"Many threats have been made recently against the Supreme Soviet and the government," Supreme Soviet Chairman Arnold Ruutel explained. "If necessary, militia and 'kodukaitse' staffers will help the deputies."

The session was also unusual in that it opened with a speech by the Swedish consul general. He read out a letter to M. Gorbachev from the heads of government of the five Nordic countries. The message emphasizes that the Baltic question must be resolved by peaceful means.

The deputies spent several hours conducting a general political debate. It opened with a report by A. Ruutel, who assured everyone that Estonia's policy of independence is unshakable. But, in his opinion, this will take several years.

Prime Minister E. Savisaar's speech was abrupt and categorical.

"Reaction has set in motion all the means at its disposal. The attackers are seeking to negate our efforts to achieve independence," he declared.

Savisaar rated very highly Estonia's treaty with Russia and the position of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic Supreme Soviet and B. Yeltsin in the conflict in the Baltic region. This opinion was also supported by M. Titma: "If Yeltsin had not supported Estonia, I do not know whether we would be in this hall today at all."

But far from everyone approves of the conclusion of the treaty between Russia and Estonia or, more accurately, the way in which it was concluded and Yeltsin's brief visit to Tallinn. The Russian-speaking population's deputies, who secured a fleeting meeting with him, were extremely displeased with it. They declare in a published interview: Yeltsin is not at all interested in or concerned about the position of Russians in the Baltic region. There have been more scathing statements and assessments, slogans and posters.

A rally devoted to the events in Lithuania was held in Tallinn on Monday on the initiative of the People's Front. Approximately 10,000 people gathered in Vabaduse—Freedom—Square. The republic's leaders also participated in the rally. They once again gave an assurance that nothing will turn Estonia from the path of freedom. Here, too, recommendations were given not to switch off the radio and receivers and to be ready,

following an appeal from the government, to come to Toompea Square in order to defend it.

Trade Union Council Warns Against 'Provocations'

*LD1501114191 Moscow TASS in English 1130 GMT
15 Jan 91*

[By TASS correspondent Aleksandr Kharchenko]

[Text] Tallinn January 15 TASS—The further development of Estonian society and resolution of all problems can proceed exclusively by peaceful and democratic means, according to a statement by the Estonian Central Council of Trade Unions issued here today.

Political forces not interested in expanding democracy want to use the complex economic and social problems to destabilise the political situation and depose the legitimate authorities, it says.

The Central Trade Union Council called on workers to refrain from strikes and rallies of protest, at which provocations are possible.

"The trade unions recognise the popularly elected Estonian Supreme Soviet and call on the Estonian Government to continue the dialogue to lessen social tensions," the document stresses.

"We do not support those who, speaking on behalf of the working people, try to depose legitimate authorities and destroy the fledgling democracy in Estonia," it says.

New Committee Criticizes Yeltsin Baltic Stance

*PM1501161191 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
15 Jan 91 p 2*

[TASS report: "Defense Committee Set Up"]

[Text] A committee for defending the Baltic region's Russian-speaking population and minority peoples was set up in Moscow at an emergency sitting of the Centrist bloc of political parties and movements.

The committee firmly condemned actions by RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] Supreme Soviet Chairman B. Yeltsin which, the adopted resolution stresses, are aimed at dismembering the state, and it described them as a betrayal of the interests of the Baltic region's Russian-speaking population and of other republic and autonomous entities.

The resolution also condemns actions by the Interregional Deputies' Group and leaders of the "Democratic Russia" movement which are aimed at maintaining "separatists and national extremists in various regions of the country."

The committee demanded the immediate introduction of presidential rule in the Baltic region.

'Airborne Hysteria' Diminishing in Estonia

PM1401155591 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA
in Russian 11 Jan 91 Second Edition p 1

[Report by correspondent Colonel V. Streltsov under the rubric "Within the Strict Framework of Legality": "'Airborne' Hysteria Diminishing"]

[Text] "Airborne Forces Are Coming!" "No to Forced Mobilization!"—the front pages of most republican newspapers were full of such headlines right up until 9 January. This was a kind of response by the Estonian press to the measures taken by the Ministry of Defense to give practical assistance to military commissariats in resolving their assigned tasks of drafting citizens for active military service and returning servicemen who have gone absent without leave from their military units.

There were even provocative sallies against military commissariats. On 9 January, for example, the Voru district military commissar received an "open letter" from the so-called Voru Independent Column No. 1.

"The Soviet Army is a gang of robbers and cutthroats," this message declares. "We have not fulfilled, do not fulfill, and will not fulfill your orders. Here you will only find death and hatred. Get out of Estonia." This gnashing of teeth was signed by someone by the name of Andres Myaekallas.

However, the "airborne" hysteria is already diminishing little by little today. The explanatory work being carried out locally, the report carried in the newspapers of the meeting between E. Savisaar, leader of the Estonian Government, and Marshal of the Soviet Union D. Yazov, USSR defense minister, and the agreement reached on setting up a special commission with a view to normalizing the situation and improving relations between the civilian population and servicemen in Estonia are having an effect.

Nevertheless, there is still nothing to flatter ourselves with. The path toward compromise, as E. Savisaar declared, will be complex, for the contradictions are great.

Officers on Status of Army Draft in Estonia

PM1401145791 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA
in Russian 11 Jan 91 First Edition p 1

[Interview with Major General R. Pyder, military commissar of the Estonian SSR; Officer Yu. Sinin, military commandant of Tallinn Garrison, and Vice Admiral Yu. Belov, chief of Tallinn Garrison, by correspondent Captain Second Rank V. Urban in Tallinn on 9 January: "According to Our Own and 'Others' Laws"]

[Text] On Wednesday [9 January] morning our correspondent contacted Tallinn by telephone. He was answered by... Major General R. Pyder, military commissar of the Estonian SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic].

[Urban] Reyn Aleksandrovich, how many draftees joined the Army last fall?

[Pyder] Approximately 25 percent of the planned number. The republic's government left almost 8,000 young men to perform alternative labor service. Yesterday I appeared on television to explain the measures planned by the Ministry of Defense. I explained that it is not the draftees and their parents who are to blame for the present situation but the republic Supreme Soviet, which we elected. This was the first point. And second, I called for prudence and calm and urged parents to send their sons off to serve.

[Urban] What responses are being made to the measures being taken with regard to draft questions?

[Pyder] Varying responses, to judge from the data that I have. Some rayons have adopted a decision that they will protect their young men from the draft. In other rayons, conversely, the authorities say that they will create no obstacles to the draft.

[Urban] What contacts do you have with the republic's leadership?

[Pyder] I have very close contacts both with legislature Chairman Arnold Ruutel and with Estonian Government Chairman Edgar Savisaar. But... Ruutel says that he cannot back down from the laws adopted by the Supreme Soviet. Although, as is known, on 1 December the USSR president abrogated by means of his decree all the republics' acts on defense questions as running counter to the Union Constitution.

[Urban] What is to be done in this situation?

[Pyder] It cannot be denied that every draftee and his parents are left with a choice. In the republic they have been given very many promises [avansy], but these promises have no juridical force. Unfortunately, many people think that Estonia will secede from the USSR today or tomorrow. Although this is nothing but a figment of the local mass media's imagination.

[Urban] How does the executive power—the government—react to all this?

[Pyder] Savisaar is now in Moscow. But I believe that little will change. I phoned him the day before, and he too says that the government cannot rescind laws adopted by the Supreme Soviet. This is how it is. But everything affects the people. For it turns out that you have to go into the Soviet Army in accordance with Soviet laws, but into labor service according to Estonian laws. There will be an emergency Supreme Soviet sitting Friday. I rely on the deputies' prudence.

...Officer Yu. Sinin, military commandant of Tallinn Garrison.

[Urban] Yuriy Nikolayevich, because of your kind of service, do you have to search for deserters? Are there many of them?

[Sinin] Over the past year 188 persons have been detained in Tallinn and returned to their units. Precisely 46 of them were persons who had fled here, in other words whom we sought at the addresses of relatives and acquaintances. But the other servicemen were a very motley contingent. For example, those who tried to desert from nearby units to their homes in Lithuania, Latvia, etc.

At present 142 persons are being sought. This applies to Tallinn and the Harju district. Three persons have been detained during the past week. Force sometimes has to be used. And so it was in the last case. People rarely return to their units of their own volition.

You yourself understand that the commandant's office is short-staffed. It is a good thing the local Internal Troop militia regiment gives assistance. I maintain close contacts with the regiment's command. But there is a very great deal of work. We have, for example, to call on all the parents of deserters. And we do this.

[Urban] What is the parents' attitude to this?

[Sinin] It differs. Some say that they themselves will report as soon as their son turns up. They worry. And there are those who frankly declare: We will not give up our son, go away....

[Urban] Where are the deserters hiding?

[Sinin] If I knew exactly where these 142 people are hiding, the majority of them would already be in the Army or, at least, in the commandant's office. Unfortunately, we have information that some drafted servicemen have already obtained passports. I will cite an example. Seaman T. Tarikas of the Northern Fleet, an Estonian born in 1970.... He lives in the village of Juri, Harju district. The exact address is known. True, he does not live at home but is in hiding. As far as I know, he turns up on holidays.

[Urban] What is the attitude in the city to commandant patrols?

[Sinin] In principle, all right.

[Urban] You said that there are insufficient forces to look for deserters. Will airborne forces help?

[Sinin] Undoubtedly.

...Vice Admiral Yu. Belov, chief of Tallinn Garrison.

[Urban] Yuriy Pavlovich, if it is not a secret, what instructions have you received in connection with the present situation?

[Belov] I personally have not yet had any instructions. The deputy commander of the Baltic Military District will soon be arriving in Tallinn. There will be instructions on what to do and how. We will decide together.

[Urban] What is the Estonian Government's reaction?

[Belov] Savisaar said the day before yesterday that they will resolve all questions before the 13th. But he himself has ordered that the guys performing alternative service be released for the winter vacation. And a specific task has been set: People should make no contact with the military and, as far as possible, should even leave Estonia, so as not to be drafted.

[Urban] Has the republic's government contacted you?

[Belov] No one has even telephoned.

Estonian Deputy Criticizes Russian Treaty

*LD1501050991 Moscow TASS in English 1231 GMT
14 Jan 91*

[By TASS correspondents Albert Maloveryan and Aleksandr Kharchenko]

[Text] Tallinn January 14 TASS—"The treaty on principles of inter-state relations between the Russian Federation and the Estonian Republic, signed in Moscow on January 12, does not reflect the interests of Estonia's Russian-speaking minority and does not guarantee their rights in the future," Estonian parliamentarian Sergey Petinov told TASS.

Petinov said the treaty and all its provisions were drafted without the participation of the Russian-speaking factions in the Estonian parliament. Repeated demands of Russian deputies to include their representatives in the official delegation were rejected by the parliamentary majority.

They claimed that those who oppose Estonia's independence and the restoration of its statehood could not be trusted to express the will of the indigenous population. "This affected the spirit and letter of the treaty, signed by chairman of the Estonian Supreme Soviet Boris Yeltsin," Petinov said.

"We have voiced our apprehensions not only during meetings of the Estonian Supreme Soviet," Petinov said, "but also in talks with Boris Yeltsin. The Russian-speaking population of Estonia pinned great hopes on the treaty, because present-day experience shows that their public, social and political rights may be jeopardised in a future independent Estonia.

"Already now far from all representatives of the non-indigenous population enjoy full suffrage rights. The residential qualification bars them from being elected both to local bodies and the republican parliament," Petinov said.

RSFSR

Yeltsin Warns on Using Force in Baltics*LD1601090391 Moscow TASS in English 0837 GMT
16 Jan 91*

[Text] Moscow January 16 TASS—Russian President Boris Yeltsin met ambassadors Vagn Egebjerg of Denmark, Dagfinn Stenseth of Norway, Heikki Talvitie of Finland and Carl Otto Berner of Sweden in the House of Russian Federation Soviets on Tuesday [15 January], at their request, the press service of the Russian parliament's presidium reports.

The sides had a substantive, frank and friendly discussion of developments in the Baltic republics.

They expressed alarm over the threat to democracy in the Soviet Union which can have foreign policy repercussions for the country and could aggravate the situation in Europe, including in its northern part.

Yeltsin reiterated his position on the issue.

He informed the ambassadors about urgent steps taken by Russian authorities to avert tragedy in the Baltic republics and further violence against civilians and legitimately elected governments, in Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia.

Russia will not remain indifferent and will take action if the use of force continues and will work to enforce decisions of the Congress of People's Deputies and Russian parliament on the non-involvement of servicemen drafted in Russia in ethnic conflicts outside the republic, Yeltsin said.

Yeltsin 14 Jan News Conference Reported*LD1501140691 Moscow Radio Rossi Network
in Russian 1224 GMT 15 Jan 91*

[Report by Yevgeniy Kiselev on news conference by Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic President Boris Yeltsin in Moscow on 14 January—Yeltsin remarks recorded]

[Text] [Kiselev] Although the head of the Russian legislature came to the news conference at the House of Soviets on Krasnopresnenskay Embankment directly after his return from his trip to the Baltic region, directly from the airport, nevertheless it began as announced at exactly 1500. The news conference evoked enormous interest. The hall was full to bursting. Journalists sat and stood in the aisles and the doorways. At the beginning of the news conference Yeltsin did not make any statement—as is sometimes done—but began answering questions right away.

Among the first [questions] was this one: How does he view the statement that no order came from the center for force to be used in Lithuania?

[Yeltsin] The statement is actually difficult to check out as yet. When I spoke both with the country's president and with Defense Minister Yazov that night, or early in the morning, and pressed them on this question, both replied that the order had not come from them. But, in the first place, I find surprising Minister Yazov's statement today that he is not familiar with Russian laws, with the decision by the Supreme Soviet of the Russian Federation last October which said that those boys called up on the territory of the Russian Federation may not serve outside that territory, and even less so take part in army actions against the peaceful population for the resolution of any kind of conflicts. But when I pursued the question: Did you or did you not give the order? He said: No. But then came another sentence. I asked: But could they have done so on the spot? His answer was: he could have done so on the spot. [emphasis placed on word 'could']

In other words it looks very similar to the scenario in Tbilisi. But given that we are talking about three republics, for three scenarios one would need a considerably greater element of fantasy. So in practical terms it was one and the same scenario.

I also addressed a special message to our servicemen, sergeants, officers, and soldiers—those called up on the territory of the Russian Federation and who are now stationed in Lithuania and other Baltic republics. I appealed to them to comply with Russian laws.

[Kiselev] Undoubtedly, everyone today is interested in the question: Who precisely, what kind of people, make up the so-called National Salvation Committee of Lithuania? Yeltsin was asked a question about this: Does he know who the people comprising the committee are?

[Yeltsin] Who the people are who make up the committee is not known. But what is known is that in the main they are from one party organization.

[Kiselev] As has already been reported, on 13 January the coordinating council of the Democratic Russia Movement appealed to labor collectives to begin, on Wednesday, 16 January, to protest actions against the center's activities in Lithuania. At the news conference Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin was asked a question about how he appraised this appeal.

[Yeltsin] I have formed the impression that this is the beginning of a powerful attack on democracy. The Baltics are only the first republics from a number of others. Therefore the statement or the appeal to labor collectives that they express their attitude toward these events seems to me to be logical and I would support it. [applause]

[Kiselev] Journalists were interested in the issue of what Boris Nikolayevich thinks about the reaction of President Gorbachev to events in Vilnius. And answering a question about why, in his opinion, the president had not yet expressed his attitude toward the slaughter which occurred in the Lithuanian capital, Yeltsin said:

[Yeltsin] First, it is probably very difficult for him to speak out. Because at the Council of the Federation, discussing the issue, even after my rather harsh address, it nonetheless seemed—and after addresses by other leaders of republics who almost declared that a political path for the resolution of the problem needed to be sought and that we should sit at the negotiations table, and I accused the president of being guilty of slowness in talks with Lithuania—that these talks had been virtually frozen. More delicate ways out of this situation are probably being sought now. Or the plan really will remain in force in the future as well.

[Kiselev] A correspondent from the KHRONIKA newspaper stated at the news conference that he had at his disposal information about the fact that a certain committee for the National Salvation of Russia had allegedly been set up, and that actions similar to those which were used as a pretext for the subsequent events in Vilnius were planned for 16 January in Moscow. He asked what measures the Russian leadership is intending to take in order to resist these plans.

[Yeltsin] First, we must be prepared for this and be vigilant every hour. Second, we must take, without delay, measures on carrying out the decision of the extraordinary Congress of People's Deputies that the state security bodies on the territory of Russia be subordinated to the Supreme Soviet of the Russian Federation and that a special Russian security committee be set up. This needs to be done without delay. Third, we are more and more coming to think—this will of course be discussed at the Supreme Soviet, I am speaking to you on a preliminary basis—that we, nonetheless, evidently will not succeed in defending sovereignty without a Russian army. [applause]

[Kiselev] A correspondent from the ROSSIYSSKAYA GAZETA asked: Will the Council of the Federation be convened to discuss the tragedy in Vilnius?

[Yeltsin] The Council of the Federation discussed this matter, although it was not on its agenda, although that was with a different perspective. The events of that night had not yet taken place. So it may be that, although it was discussed, this was not in such acute circumstances and not in the sense of either bringing to account those who brought about such a situation, who gave the order, or of setting up a special commission. A decision was taken to send a number of members of the Council of the Federation there, to Lithuania, to hold talks, in other words to chase up events—which is something that should have been done quite a lot earlier, that is, begin these talks which had been broken off, in my view not without the personal involvement of the country's president.

[Kiselev] Central Television political observer Aleksandr Tikhomirov inquired about Boris Nikolayevich's attitude to the rebukes often directed at him that, in signing bilateral treaties with various republics, the Russian

leadership is, so to speak, betraying the interests of the Russian-speaking population in such republics.

[Yeltsin] A struggle is under way for the survival of democracy, including that of the Russian-speaking population in all republics and also in the Russian Federation itself. A few days ago we signed a treaty with the Estonian Republic, and last night a treaty was signed with the Latvian Republic, with Gorbunovs. Also last night I had a meeting with a large number of the deputies in the Supreme Soviet of the Estonian Republic from the Russian-speaking population. We had a dialogue. It was a dialogue which was perhaps not easy, but it seemed to me that it ended more optimistically than it had looked at the beginning. Inasmuch as the main argument is that by concluding such treaties with republics, we then have some kind of juridical basis for somehow influencing what happens or for responding to any illegal actions against the Russian-speaking population on the part of the authorities. Without any such treaties or lines of contact we would be totally deprived of channels for influencing such matters. But by concluding treaties, if some kind of illegal actions do suddenly arise then we have many bases—diplomatic, political, and others and now juridical ones too, founded on the treaty—for immediately getting down to talks about the issue. Moreover, the protocol to the treaty makes special mention of the fact that within a month a special program is to be devised for the social protection of the Russian-speaking population in those republics; and correspondingly for the Estonians and Latvians in our Russian Federation.

In addition, we discussed the specifics of questions concerning the military—in Estonia, for instance. This refers to the provision of foodstuffs, for which permission was given too. The chairman of the Supreme Soviet, so to speak, said that everyone will have coupons on an equal basis—both the native population and the Armed Forces. As for the question of housing: Yes, but this is an area that is actually difficult for everyone. So one cannot really say we shall provide one part of the population fully with housing while keeping another part waiting for some time. So this trip was to give support to the Russian-speaking population in those republics, including Lithuania. But if they are being nudged by certain forces toward demonstrations of one sort or another, rallies, and so on, well, we then have to set out our position very frankly and say that we support democratically-minded forces, including those among the Russian-speaking population.

[Kiselev] After that, two questions were asked at once: First, whether in Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin's view the signing of the Union treaty was practicable now, after the events in Vilnius; and second, how he regards the central media coverage of the events in Lithuania.

[Yeltsin] These actions seem to me to have inflicted a serious blow on the practicability of concluding a Union treaty, since no one is likely to sign a treaty that has a noose around its neck. You won't find any takers in our country now among the leaders of all the republics. Here

there is once again a desire to thrust on us from above, on a plate, a ready treaty approved by a Central Committee plenum and approved by the Congress of People's Deputies: Here is the treaty for you, sign it! But wait a moment: Who is signing the treaty, who is making a treaty with whom? Presumably anyone making a treaty with anyone else should be the one to work on this treaty, discuss it, and only then sign it. But the whole process is going not from the bottom upwards, as we proposed, but from the top downwards. We proposed, and are implementing in practice, the principle whereby first of all the republics conclude treaties among themselves—we have concluded treaties with the Ukraine, Belorussia, Kazakhstan, Moldova, Georgia Estonia, Latvia—and through this network of treaties it would be possible to draw in all 15 republics into this process. Yet through the actions like those from above, as well as methods of coercion, today five republics are effectively torn away from a future union. We in Russia, too, will probably discuss this in the Supreme Soviet and are reflecting very hard on whether we need the sort of Union where every minute someone's will shall be dictated from above, not what the republic should be thinking about and deciding. This has inflicted a blow, I repeat, on the practicability of concluding a Union treaty.

As for the mass information media, when I spoke in the Council of the Federation I said that I was astonished by the one-sided information given in the Council by Internal Affairs Minister Pugo and disseminated in written form by the country's vice president, wholly one-sided information. This is another example of our people being deceived on the actual actions, facts, and events which are taking place in Lithuania and the Baltic republics.

[Kiselev] Judging by the latest reports which I heard myself on Radio Rossii when I was driving here for the news conference at about 1500 the latest events in Vilnius are as follows: The telephone exchange has been seized and the local radio broadcasting network has been switched off. In this way people in Vilnius have been deprived of the most operative means of information. Evidently this means that organizers of the events in Vilnius have gone along the road, so to speak, of developing a most harsh scenario. A question arises here: Didn't the central leadership think about the reaction of the rest of the world to the events taking place or is this a deliberate ignoring of it and deliberate move away from the usual foreign political course?

[Yeltsin] The first reaction was known, but nonetheless the following night events unfurled with even greater force. Talking with the president, I told him that we would simply disgrace ourselves before the whole world, because this was the end of democracy. You travelled and requested help in this difficult period for the peoples of the country, including credits, foodstuffs, and so on. You see it is understandable that now these countries will simply refuse to give that help and it should have been possible to foresee that, but if such elementary

things are not being foreseen then in general it is painful to think what kind of leadership we have here.

With regard to the actions that I want to see, including responsive actions on the part of other states, including the United States, the morning after the development of the overnight events I was visited by the ambassador, at his request—the ambassador of the United States of America, Mr Matlock. We discussed these questions. I said that the impression is being formed that the U.S. leadership is not fully picturing for itself what is taking place in our country. It does not picture it. It has just one picture and all the euphoria is around that picture, but these processes that are taking place—the processes of sovereignty for the republics, the shift of the center of gravity, including political events, to the republics—this is not being noticed, and this will be a strategic mistake on the part of the leadership of the United States of America.

[Kiselev] In conclusion, one more episode at the news conference. The same question was asked several times: What prompted such an unusual return route by Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin from the Baltic republics to Moscow? At first by car from Tallinn to Leningrad; and only after that from Leningrad to Moscow by air. The journalists' interest in this detail of Yeltsin's trip to the Baltic republic was explained by the fact that even prior to the news conference there had been talk in the corridors that allegedly news had filtered through to Yeltsin's entourage about an attempt being prepared against the chairman of Russia's Supreme Soviet.

[Yeltsin] You know, many accidents have happened to me. In some four years that is pretty good going. That is why, when information from here was received that a certain action was being prepared on the way back, we decided to change the travel route.

Supreme Soviet To Discuss Executive Presidency

LD1501132191 Moscow TASS in English 1239 GMT 15 Jan 91

[By TASS correspondent Yuriy Kozmin]

[Text] Moscow January 15 TASS—The Russian parliament is to open another session on January 29, the republican Supreme Soviet's Presidium decided today.

The agenda will include the establishment of an executive presidency in Russia, the revamping of the state administration, economic reforms, and social guarantees during the transition to a market.

The session will also discuss practical measures to implement a plan to revive the Russian countryside and develop agriculture, which was discussed by parliament at its previous session.

U.S. Curb on Republic Deals 'Interference'

91UF0324A Moscow *RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA*
in Russian 10 Jan 91 p 3

[NOVOSTI Information Agency report: "Is the U.S. State Department Against Cooperation With Russia? (From Unofficial Data)"]

[Text] According to information obtained from an informed source in the Government of Russia, United States insurance companies have stopped insuring transactions with Union republics of the USSR. This is a reaction to a U.S. State Department letter recommending that businessmen enter into business contacts with the USSR only on the Union level. It is the opinion of certain experts that the harsh economic measures with respect to Union republics are related to Eduard Shevardnadze's recent trip to the United States and the agreements reached during that trip. In private conversation with a certain correspondent, a member of the Russian Government assessed these actions as "direct political pressure and interference in the internal affairs of the Soviet Union, and even worse."

Russia Leads Moscow City Soviet Walkout

PM1101153391 Moscow *IZVESTIYA* in Russian
11 Jan 91 Union Edition p 1

[From column of reports attributed to IZVESTIYA, TASS, INTERFAX, REUTER, POSTFAKTUM, UPI, SIBINFORM: "Crisis Situation at Moscow City Soviet Session"]

[Text] Over 70 deputies walked out of the Moscow City Soviet hall of sessions Wednesday [9 January] in protest against the manner in which the sitting was being conducted by Sergey Stankevich, deputy chairman of the Moscow City Soviet. They accused him of trying to foist the Moscow Gorispolkom [City Soviet Executive Committee] composition proposed by Moscow Gorispolkom Chairman Yuriy Luzhkov on the session. An INTERFAX correspondent notes that most of the deputies who walked out of the hall of sessions belong to the Democratic Russia bloc.

Democratic Russia Movement Opens Plenum

LD1201231191 Moscow *TASS International Service*
in Russian 1425 GMT 12 Jan 91

[By TASS correspondent Igor Agabekov]

[Excerpts] Moscow, 12 Jan—Participants in the final stage of the council of the "Democratic Russia" Movement plenum, which opened here today, have expressed profound concern at the situation in Russia and the Soviet Union as a whole.

Delegates spoke from the rostrum about "the general worsening" of the situation in the country, and accused "reactionary and anti-perestroika forces of going on the offensive". They urged all democratic and progressive

forces to consolidate in order to resist this onslaught. They cited the latest events in Lithuania as an example. [passage omitted]

Galina Starovoytova called on the deputies of Union and republican parliaments to hold a protest demonstration tomorrow on one of Moscow's squares.

Alydas Medalinskas, a representative of the Lithuanian public movement Sajudis, who arrived from Vilnius today, spoke about the latest events in Lithuania. He described the situation in this republic as extremely tense. He admitted that Sajudis had made a mistake in, as he put it, initially banking on help from the West and rejecting contacts with democratic movements in Russia and other territories of the Soviet Union. [passage omitted]

Politburo Resolution on Socioeconomic Situation

PM1401104591 Moscow *SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA*
in Russian 11 Jan 91 First Edition p 1

[Unattributed report: "Our Priorities"]

[Text] The Russian Communist Party Central Committee Politburo has adopted a resolution on the party organizations' work to stabilize the socioeconomic situation and steadily develop the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] national economy in 1991.

In the resolution which it has adopted the RSFSR Communist Party Central Committee notes that the socioeconomic situation in the republic is continuing to deteriorate. Production volumes are declining. The plan for housing construction in 1990 and for very important social establishments has been disrupted. Production and contract discipline is dropping and economic ties have been destroyed.

In a number of the republic's oblasts and in Moscow and Leningrad and other cities the system for supplying the population with food has been virtually destroyed. The medical service and the lack of medicines are giving rise to many rebukes. Inflation is intensifying. The property-owning stratum in society is growing. The material position of the broad strata of the population, particularly the workers, is rapidly declining while for some categories—those in the shadow economy and cooperative workers—it is improving sharply. Speculation and robbery are flourishing, crime is expanding, and citizens are losing faith in the authorities' ability to introduce order.

Many Communists who are leaders of republican ministries, departments, concerns, and associations and party organizations locally are not eliminating these shortcomings with sufficient persistence. The establishment of a number of republican organs of management has been delayed. The apparatus of others has been deliberately demoralized and is working ineffectively. Important

questions of life coming in from the oblasts and enterprises are not examined promptly and thoroughly and often, under the slogan of autonomy, are left to drift.

The lag in the elaboration of a forecast for the development of the RSFSR national economy for 1991, in the placing of the state order, and in forming the republic's budget is giving rise to confusion and uncertainty in the activity of the labor collectives and local soviets.

The resolution draws the attention of republican, kray, oblast, city, and rayon party committees and of the communists who are leaders of republican departments and economic organs to the need for close collaboration with the soviets of people's deputies to eliminate the lack of organization which has emerged and to achieve as early as 1991 tangible advances in the population's food supply, to fill the market with light industry articles and other consumer goods, and to consolidate the material base of the sociocultural sphere. These questions must be examined as a most important political and socioeconomic task for whose solution we need unity of actions on the part of the party, soviet, and economic organs and public organizations.

The RSFSR Communist Party Central Committee Politburo supports the appeal of the fourth Congress of USSR People's Deputies "to the country's peoples" and believes that the practical activity of the republic's national economic complex should be built only on the basis of the consolidation of a single economic complex for the country, ensuring the effective functioning of all enterprises, sectors, and regions.

By actively promoting civil consensus and cooperation, communists are asked to resolutely oppose the irresponsible calls from individual groups and organizations for the further destabilization of the situation in the country and the holding of political strikes and other actions which disrupt the production rhythm. Communists must be the initiators and organizers of the prompt examination of possible conflicts on a constructive, businesslike basis.

One paramount political task for the party committees must be considered to be the enlistment of RSFSR Communist Party Central Committee members, communists who are people's deputies, and communists who are leaders of central ministries and departments to specific work to render aid through the party committees to the local soviets and enterprise and organization collectives in the building up of production output volumes on the basis of increasing labor productivity and of introducing the achievements of scientific and technical progress, in the political implementation of the goals of economic reform, and in the formation of market relations.

The Central Committee Politburo stresses that the RSFSR Communist Party advocates a market of socialist orientation based on the predominance of collective forms of ownership, relying on scientific and

technical progress and on the retention of a high concentration of production in the hands of state structures as the basis for a regulated market and the growth of social labor productivity.

The party committees and party organizations together with the trade union organizations and labor collective soviets have been asked to take control of the processes of the destatization and privatization of enterprises and to prevent the infringement of working people's rights and interests. It is important that they use all their political clout and material potential to implement the fundamental reorganization of the employment services, proceeding from the new economic situation with a view primarily to creating appropriate conditions for retraining and requalifying working people laid off during the transition to the market.

It is essential to take practical steps to step up party organizations' influence on the steady functioning of enterprises and organizations of the agro-industrial complex, power, transport, communications, trade, municipal services, and the entire social sphere.

The RSFSR Communist Party Central Committee Politburo instructs party committees to direct the organizational and ideological work of primary party organizations toward political backup for the agrarian reform. In January through February 1991 they must define specific measures for rendering practical aid to soviet and economic organs in implementing the "program for the resurrection of the Russian countryside and the development of the agro-industrial complex" adopted by the extraordinary Congress of RSFSR People's Deputies and in creating equal conditions for the development of collective farms, state farms, peasant and individual farms, and cooperatives and associations of these farms. In accordance with the RSFSR Communist Party Central Committee November (1990) plenum resolution and the "Basic Guidelines for the Activity of the RSFSR Communist Party" they must ensure the social protection of peasants in the period of transition to market relations and their exclusive right to determine for themselves the forms of economic management and must prevent the enforced decollectivization of the countryside.

The RSFSR Communist Party Central Committee Politburo expresses concern at the breakdown of the housing program because of the weakening of the construction organizations' capacities, at the reduction in the technical and technological equipping of the construction sector, and at the loss of skilled worker cadres, as a result of which many people's hopes of obtaining housing and resolving social problems are being disrupted, and it obliges the republic, kray, and oblast party committees to step up attention toward the activity of the party organizations of construction sites, and construction industry enterprises.

The RSFSR Communist Party Central Committee Socioeconomic Department has been instructed, on the

basis of proposals from the localities and the opinions of the communists who are leaders of construction organizations with a view to rectifying the existing situation, to prepare in the course of the first quarter of 1991 a list of measures to submit through communist deputies to the RSFSR Council of Ministers and Supreme Soviet.

The party committees and bureaus of all levels have been instructed to render all-around support to the soviets of people's deputies and economic organs in consolidating law and order and discipline and fulfilling the President's Decree "on stepping up workers' control with a view to introducing order in food and consumer goods storage, transport, and trade."

The RSFSR Communist Party Central Committee Politburo, while promoting the expansion of the independence of party committees and party organizations in choosing forms and methods of work, at the same time draw communists' attention to the need for the fundamental consolidation of discipline in the party and unity of actions in fulfilling the decisions taken by the party.

For better coordination and collaboration in this with the RSFSR Supreme Soviet and Government and for the activation of communists' work in the struggle against bureaucracy, it must be deemed expedient to form under the Communist Party Central Committee a council of secretaries of the party organizations of the apparatus of central ministries, department, concerns, and associations.

The RSFSR Communist Party Central Committee Politburo appeals to communists who are journalists in the central and local mass media to give objective and balanced coverage of society's socioeconomic and political renewal, to find and disseminate valuable positive experience of constructive work, and to resolutely rebuff the destructive forces seeking to destabilize the situation in the republic. Appealing to the reason and feelings of all social strata of our society, we must promote its consolidation, stability, and social optimism.

Japanese Reject Sole RSFSR Role in Talks

PM1401095191 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
14 Jan 91 Union Edition p 1

[From column of reports attributed to IZVESTIYA, TASS, INTERFAX, POSTFAKTUM, REUTER, UPI, SIBIFORM: "Japan's Position"]

[Text] Japan does not intend holding talks on the question of ownership of the "northern territories" solely with representatives of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic, Japanese Foreign Ministry spokesman Watanabe stated at a press conference. We believe that at present it is necessary to deal with the central government, he said.

'Shchit' Official Charged With Assault

PM1501094491 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA
in Russian 11 Jan 91 First Edition p 4

[Unnamed TASS correspondent report: "Indictment Announced"]

[Text] The capital's Kiyevskiy Rayon Prosecutor's Office announced its indictment of N. Moskovchenko, cochairman of the "Shchit" union's city organization, who is also assistant to RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] People's Deputy B. Urazhtsev. N. Moskovchenko is charged with assaulting an official in the execution of his official duties: He punched the Moscow military commander in the face during a rally which took place in the capital 10 September, and afterward disappeared into a crowd of women.

During his interview with Senior Investigator S. Bellevich, N. Moskovchenko admitted that he came to the rally after he had been informed that allegedly "the Moscow commandant is beating everyone."

Incidentally, the RSFSR people's deputy's assistant has for two years now been evading the payment of alimony to his two former families. He not only conceals his income but also does not disclose his address to them.

New Radio Station for Leningrad

LD1301112991 Moscow TASS International Service
in Russian 1316 GMT 12 Jan 91

[By TASS correspondent Nikolay Kondratenko]

[Excerpt] Leningrad, 12 January (TASS)— A new radio channel "Evropa plus Leningrad" [Europe plus Leningrad] started to broadcast on local radio today. The FM broadcast, consisting mostly of musical and entertainment programs, news, and commercials is organized by a joint enterprise under the same name, which the "Europe-Plus" French radio company, the Leningrad television and radio committee, and the Leningrad radio and television center of the USSR Ministry of Communications agreed to set up.

Anatoliy Sobchak, chairman of the Leningrad Soviet, and George Polinskiy, chairman of the "Evropa Plyus" radio company, welcomed "Evropa Plyus Leningrad" during its first experimental program and wished it successful and fruitful work. [passage omitted]

Western Republics

Ukraine's Kravchuk Condemns Violence in Lithuania

LD1501183191 Kiev International Service
in Ukrainian 2200 GMT 14 Jan 91

[Interviews with Ukrainian Supreme Soviet Presidium Chairman Leonid Kravchuk and Popular Rada Deputy

Chairman Mykhaylo Mykolayovych Horyn, by correspondent Mykola Marynenko on 14 January; place not given—recorded]

[Text] [Marynenko] Leonid Makarovych, could you please tell me what caused the urgent sitting of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic Supreme Soviet Presidium today?

[Kravchuk] Well, if we put it in one sentence, it has been caused by the events taking place in Lithuania and the situation which has taken shape around this matter not only in Lithuania but in the entire society. We discussed this issue in the first instance to express the point of view of the Presidium.

[Marynenko] What was the point of view of the Supreme Soviet Presidium regarding the events that are now taking place in Lithuania?

[Kravchuk] Well, first of all we discussed the position of the Supreme Soviet Presidium itself. Really, Lithuania is a sovereign republic, just as the Ukraine, and we would like to have such an attitude toward those events that does not infringe upon the sovereign interests of the republic where all this is taking place, so that it is not taken as interference in its internal affairs. But we came to the conclusion that there could be general humanistic and political estimates. They should be based in the first instance upon international and other legal acts and laws on prevention of violence against an individual, and inadmissibility of human rights violations.

We condemn any violence and even more so the violence which is carried out with the use of Armed Forces units. And we were unanimous at this point that this situation should be prevented from developing any further. We want to appeal to citizens of all nationalities to respect the laws and other international and legal norms and take the side of the law, and prevent escalation of the situation there and prevent—to speak frankly—transformation of this into a civil war.

Generally speaking, the discussion went on in a constructive way; nobody was calling for anything that could affect in a negative way the development of events.

[Marynenko] In the same presidential decree according to which the paratroop units have been brought to Lithuania, the Ukraine is also mentioned. Could you please tell what the situation is like regarding this problem?

[Kravchuk] I know that according to information the situation with conscription in Ukraine is the best in the Soviet Union. Everywhere, even in the western oblasts, the percentage of those drafted is very high at present. We have no situation of the sort which could necessitate such action. Moreover, you will not find the clause that the draft should be carried out with the use of paratroops anywhere, in any documents in the world. This is inadmissible.

I want to say that even though some people want to unload everything upon the president, at the Council of the Federation he also stood for peaceful development of events and against using any kind of force. The thing now is that nihilism and disrespect for law is so widespread, including in the Armed Forces, that I can see already that troop units may not be subordinate to the minister of defense or somebody else. Therefore [words indistinct] the troop units in Lithuania took part according to a request from the National Salvation Committee; and this is a committee, it is not a constitutional body.

These again are lawless actions which have now become a tragedy for us, the lawless actions and violence. And we have to overcome all this if we want live in peace and quiet and solve elementary issues regarding people.

[Horyn] My name is Mykhaylo Mykolayovych Horyn, a deputy of the Popular Rada and one of its deputy chairmen.

[Marynenko] Mr. Horyn, tell me please if the Popular Rada's position regarding the estimate of the events in Lithuania is different from the position of the Supreme Soviet deputies in general, and if so what is the difference?

[Horyn] We can ascertain that there is no divergence in principle in estimates of the events which have been taking place in Lithuania. Both the representatives of the Popular Rada and representatives of Presidium of the Supreme Soviet condemn the aggression against Lithuania and demand a political solution of those problems. We will demand withdrawal of troops and noninterference in the internal affairs of the sovereign Lithuanian state of any military formations.

[Marynenko] The Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic Supreme Soviet Presidium has adopted an appeal to the Supreme Soviet of Lithuania at today's extraordinary sitting. The position of the republican legislature regarding the events in Lithuania and a call for peace and accord are stated in the document.

Vinnitsa Soviet Refuses Demand for Flag Removal *LD1501141191 Kiev International Service in English* *0000 GMT 15 Jan 91*

[Text] The paratrooper units now stationed on the territory of the Vinnitsa military garrison have adopted a document demanding that the blue-and-yellow banner set up in the city square should be removed. The question was examined at the sitting of the commission for legality under the city soviet of Vinnitsa. The decision was made to not remove the banner. The believers of the region and the city say the place where the banner had been set up and the banner itself were sanctified and showed their determination to guard the sacred objects.

Chernobyl Reactor Units Resume Operation

*LD1501160791 Kiev International Service in English
0000 GMT 15 Jan 91*

[Text] Today the two power units of Chernobyl nuclear power station, which were stopped four days ago, were again put into operation. The reason for the temporary stoppage was the worsening quality of the chemically purified water used for the cooling systems of the first and second power units.

Ukraine Communist Party Head Meets French Consul

*LD1101213591 Kiev International Service
in Ukrainian 2200 GMT 10 Jan 91*

[Text] Stanislav Hurenko, first secretary of the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee, had a meeting with Hugues Pernet, consul general of the French Republic in Kiev. Pernet noted that the opening of the consulate-general of France in Kiev is an indication of the dynamism of French-Soviet relations, and at the same time, the growing mutual interest of France and the Ukraine.

Ukraine, Russia, Belorussia To Coordinate Prices

*PM1501102191 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
14 Jan 91 Union Edition p 2*

[Correspondent S. Tsikora report: "Union of Three Republics"]

[Text] Three republics—Russia, the Ukraine, and Belorussia—have held a meeting and reached agreement on coordinating actions in the sphere of prices.

This news was announced to the republics' media by L. Kravchuk, chairman of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic Supreme Soviet.

"Delegations from Russia, the Ukraine, and Belorussia have made arrangements for representatives from these republics to meet in the near future and come to an agreement on coordinating increases in retail prices for essential items. The aim is to prevent a situation whereby one republic raises its prices while another leaves them at the previous level.

"We were against price rises in principle," the head of the Ukrainian republic added, "relying on the stability of purchase prices. But you can't escape reality. Therefore the pooling of the coordinated actions of Russia, the Ukraine, and Belorussia in market conditions is deemed very important. We will create a general committee to deal with both contractual relations and economic agreements, including prices.

"With regard to the Ukraine," Kravchuk continued, "this republic has decided to announce a moratorium on all price rises in all the republic's oblasts until 1 March of this year. That is, until the issue is decided from the

center. Apart from that, they intend to impose order in contract prices, which have now become the object of speculation."

Explaining why only Russia, the Ukraine, and Belorussia will form the "Union of Three," Kravchuk said that together these republics offer the traditional complement of items under production: meat, milk, butter, and others, including noncomestible products. It would be different for, say, the Tajiks, Uzbeks, or Turkmenians.

"More money is required to compensate for the price increases. First and foremost, it is necessary to protect the least well-off sections of the population—the disabled, pensioners, students. In our republic we have prepared for this in advance. We have adopted a Budget Law which sets out compensation expenditure. We are also relying on other sources. Also, we will not renounce the decision to increase teachers' and doctors' wages."

Belorussian Delegation Leaves for Lithuania

*LD1501195591 Moscow TASS International Service
in Russian 1639 GMT 15 Jan 91*

[By TASS correspondents Vladimir Glod and Aleksandr Kryzhanovskiy]

[Text] Minsk, 15 Jan (TASS)—After a three-week interval the Belorussian Supreme Soviet session resumed its work. The tragic events in Lithuania have not left the Belorussian parliamentarians nonchalant. They formed a special group consisting of seven people's deputies of the republic led by the well-known Belorussian poet Nil Gilevich.

The same day the group departed for Lithuania. As has already been reported, a Council of the Federation delegation attached to the USSR president, which includes Nikolay Dementey, Belorussian Soviet Socialist Republic Supreme Soviet chairman, is already in Vilnius.

After a brief debate the deputies adopted a draft law on farming in Belorussia. It aims at introducing market relations into the republic's economy.

Caucasus

Georgian Leader Urges Gorbachev To Suspend Decree

*LD1501115491 Moscow TASS International Service
in Russian 1102 GMT 15 Jan 91*

[By TASS correspondent Sakartvelo]

[Text] Tbilisi, 15 Jan (TASS)—Zviad Gamsakhurdia, chairman of the Georgian Supreme Soviet, believes that the decree by USSR President Mikhail Gorbachev of 6 January on Transcaucasian republics "does not promote the stabilization of the situation and does not ease the tension in the region. On the contrary, it encourages separatists and their supporters."

In a letter to the USSR president published today, the leader of the Georgian legislature touched on the situation in a region engulfed in an interethnic conflict—"Shida-Kartli—the former South Ossetian Autonomous Oblast." He noted that "over recent years, this autonomous formation has been transformed into a center of anti-Georgian hysteria in the hands of extremists who have occupied the leading posts in the bodies of power, and since November 1989 has become a bridgehead for the creation of an independent state, which would have signified that territory that has belonged to the republic of Georgia since time immemorial would be torn away from it".

In the view of the leader of the Georgian legislature, only the suspension of the USSR President's decree can defuse the explosive situation that has arisen.

By the decree of 6 January, the USSR president resolved to revoke the legislative acts of both Georgia and South Ossetia, which altered the status of this territory, and also to withdraw armed formations, including Georgian Interior Ministry forces from there, leaving only the Internal Troops of the USSR Interior Ministry. As Rafik Nishanov, chairman of the Soviet of Nationalities of the USSR Supreme Soviet, said in an interview with a TASS correspondent, when the draft of this decree was being drawn up, its main points were agreed upon with Georgian leaders. At their suggestion, considerable changes were made to the original text.

Situation in South Ossetia 'Still Complex'

*PM1501110191 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
15 Jan 91 First Edition p 2*

[Unattributed report: "Situation Remains Complex"]

[Text] A TASS correspondent was told 14 January at the USSR MVD [Ministry of Internal Affairs] Internal Troops Main Directorate that the situation in Tskhinvali is still complex. Skirmishes are taking place in various areas of the city. Launches of rocket propelled projectiles have been recorded.

USSR MVD internal troops are guarding the oblast communications center in order to restore communications in the center of the autonomous oblast. Servicemen are patrolling the city streets in armored vehicles in an endeavor to prevent confrontation and bloodshed. The USSR MVD internal troops' stance is unequivocal—they want the total unconditional fulfillment of the USSR president's decree "On Certain Legislative Acts Adopted in December 1990 in the Georgian SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic]."

TASS Views Situation

*LD1501162991 Moscow TASS International Service
in Russian 1410 GMT 15 Jan 91*

[By TASS correspondent Albert Kochetkov]

[Text] Tskhinvali, 15 Jan (TASS)—In Tskhinvali and Dzghva rayons of South Ossetia hardly any enterprises, organizations, or institutions are working. Moreover, raw materials that used to be brought in from Tbilisi are not arriving. Only bread is being baked.

Every night two groups of internal troops in armored carriers patrol the city. The special unit is ready at any time of the day or night to go out to "hot spots." Such missions are carried out nearly every day.

The streets of the city are littered with cartridge cases. There are bullet marks on the walls of many buildings. People are in a state of constant nervous tension, which many think cannot be defused by force but only by a dialogue between the combatant sides. Everyone realizes that confrontation leads to deadlock. But, unfortunately, no one has yet taken the first step toward peace. Meanwhile, the number of casualties on both sides exceeds 10, with over 30 injured.

The night before our departure from Tskhinvali, the calm was again broken by a burst of submachine gun fire. Then machine guns started up. Nine explosions were heard. Intermittent fighting broke out first in one and then in another part of the city. Dawn again brought sad news—on both sides there were dead and injured.

Units of the militia, whose strength has recently been increased by 3,000 men, control the central part of the administrative center of South Ossetia. The remainder of the city is under the control of the Ossetian side. There is also a third force—the troops of the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs.

Our compilation of a picture of the situation in South Ossetia has been helped by personal impressions, and conversations with Georgians, Ossetians, and the military, who, for completely understandable reasons, wished to remain anonymous.

Officer of the Georgian militia: "The Ossetians infringed the territorial integrity of Georgia by proclaiming the sovereignty of their so-called South Ossetian Soviet Republic. We will defend our homeland to the last drop of blood from separatists and fighters who kill Georgians. Our presence in Tskhinvali is legitimate, and we shall now bow to the USSR president's decree or leave this place. We are indignant at the inaction of the internal troops of the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs who are sitting it out in their barracks."

An Ossetian: "The actions of the Georgian militia reflects the policy of the new leadership of Georgia directed at driving out ethnic minorities by means of genocide and suppression of dissent. We have proclaimed our sovereignty in order to save the Ossetians from a worse fate—for as soon as Georgia completely separates itself from the Soviet Union there will be no one to protect us. The conflict can be resolved only by political methods and not by force. We are ready to sit down to talks, but only after the withdrawal of the Georgian militia from South Ossetia."

Officer of the internal troops of the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs: "Since the Georgian militia has not carried out the requirements of the presidential decree, we cannot cooperate with it. We are acting in accordance with the USSR Constitution. The presence of the internal troops in the region is aimed at preventing civil war here. At the same time the introduction of additional Georgian militia forces into Tskhinvali was carried out unprofessionally, in a number of cases with the unjustified use of weapons which naturally intensified the confrontation.

Barricades Being Removed

LD1501214191 Moscow TASS in English 2131 GMT 15 Jan 91

[Text] Moscow January 16 TASS—The situation in the city of Tskhinvali and Dzhava district (South Ossetia) where the state of emergency and the curfew were imposed, remained tense on Monday.

TASS learnt at the Soviet Interior Ministry press centre that two people were wounded in Tskhinvali during skirmishes. On the other hand, the operation of the city telephone network resumed, and barricades built by local residents are being removed.

The Georgian people regard the start of negotiations between the leadership of the Georgian Interior Ministry and the leaders of local informal organisations to surrender arms and stop skirmishes as an important measure to stabilise the situation in the region.

Nagorno-Karabakh Situation 'Extremely Acute'

LD1401213291 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1340 GMT 14 Jan 91

[By TASS correspondent Vadim Barykin]

[Text] Stepanakert 14 Jan (TASS)—The situation in the area of the state of emergency in Azerbaijan's Nagorno-Karabakh Oblast and adjacent rayons of the republic has become extremely acute.

The outburst of terrorism on the roads is a cause for special concern. The bandits are behaving extremely cruelly, meting out punishment mercilessly on servicemen and civilians. Already 13 people have died, four of them servicemen.

Colonel Vladimir Shevelev, the commandant of the state of emergency area, has appealed, for the second time in recent days, to the populace to display good sense and to observe the law. The people have been kept posted on the steps that have been taken to protect the lives and safety of servicemen and civilians.

A curfew is in force from 1900 on the roads of the oblast. A special highway patrol service has been set up to enforce it, and extra check points and helicopter-borne rapid-deployment groups have been instituted. Passes granting exemption to inspection have been abolished,

private cars are banned from leaving the area of domicile, and there are restrictions on citizens entering and leaving Stepanakert and the oblast's other towns.

Special mention is made in the commandant's appeal of the fact that, in accordance with the law, servicemen enforcing the state of emergency have the right to use weapons without warning against vehicles which fail to stop when ordered to do so by detachments of troops.

The commandant's order is already being carried out. A TASS correspondent travelling this morning around Stepanakert and its environs saw a line of vehicles waiting to enter and leave the town, the amount of military hardware has increased, citizens are having their papers checked on the streets, and military helicopters are patrolling the skies.

Azerbaijan's Shaumyanovskiy Rayon Nullified

NC1601115291 Baku Domestic Service in Azeri 1700 GMT 14 Jan 91

[Decree of the Azerbaijan Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] Supreme Soviet nullifying Shaumyanovskiy Rayon signed by Elmira Kafarova, chairwoman of the Azerbaijan SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, in Baku on 14 January]

[Text] The Azerbaijan Supreme Soviet Presidium, working to promote the interests of the multinational people of the Azerbaijan SSR and to strengthen the effort made to stabilize the sociopolitical situation in all the republic's rayons, has examined the fact that the Shaumyanovskiy Rayon's economic relations with all the other rayons in the republic have been disrupted, the rayon's production and social structures have collapsed, the situation of the rayon's people has worsened, and the social tension in the rayon has increased as a result of the lawless activities of the rayon's government and social organs. Considering all this and the many appeals made by the rayon's people, the Azerbaijan SSR Supreme Soviet has adopted the following decision:

1. The Azerbaijan SSR's Shaumyanovskiy Rayon will be nullified.
2. The lands of the abrogated rayon will be incorporated with the Azerbaijan SSR's Kasum-Ismaïlovskiy Rayon.
3. The former name of the Kasum-Ismaïlovskiy Rayon and the former name of the Kasum-Ismaïlov City will be restored. Henceforth, the Kasum-Ismaïlovskiy Rayon will be known as Gorenboy Rayon and the Kasum-Ismaïlov City as Gorenboy City. The Azerbaijan SSR Council of Ministers will rearrange the administrative, territorial, social, and economic structures of Gorenboy Rayon in accordance with this decree.
4. This decree will be submitted to the Azerbaijan SSR Supreme Soviet for approval.

[Signed] Elmira Kafarova, chairwoman of the Azerbaijan SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, in Baku, 14 January 1991

Decree Criticized

NC1601140891 Yerevan Domestic Service in Armenian
1950 GMT 15 Jan 91

[Text] Shaumyanovskiy rural rayon in Azerbaijan has been abolished by a decree of the Azerbaijan Republic's Supreme Soviet Presidium. The overwhelming majority of the rayon's population is Armenian. Its territory has now been incorporated into the nearby Kasum-Izmailov Rayon which has been renamed Garamboy Rayon.

Suren Zolyan, the Armenian people's deputy now visiting Stepanakert, told ARMENPRES that the abolition of Shaumyanovskiy Rayon is no mere redistricting but instead the direct continuation of the policy formulated at the highest administrative levels to uproot the Armenian population in northern Artsakh [Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast—NKA0] forcibly.

Back in 1923 when the NKA0's borders were being delineated, northern Artsakh was detached from it in contravention of a previous agreement. The subsequent territorial adjustments always aimed at increasing the numbers of Azerbaijanis.

In the autumn of 1988 an attempt was made to expel the Armenians of northern Artsakh. At the time the people of Shaumyanovskiy gave an appropriate counter-strike to the (?massacres). Since then the region has been under blockade, and since the autumn of last year the region has been under tight siege from the so-called special detachments assembled from among the former guerrillas of the Azerbaijani Popular Front.

Today the Azerbaijani leaders, taking advantage of the extremely complex political situation in the country and the world, delivered a multisided blow to all Artsakh. It is not difficult to predict the consequences of the decision made by the Presidium of the Azerbaijan Republic's Supreme Soviet. This illegal nationalistic act has in effect legalized mass deportation, killing of innocent people, and atrocities.

This act is openly intended to make the regional situation extremely destabilized and thus add a new chain reaction to the already existing bloody clashes [word indistinct]. The responsibility for these will fall not only on those who have adopted that decision but also on those who used to encourage the oppressors. It was no coincidence that on the day this anti-Armenian decree was issued, the USSR Internal Affairs Ministry's internal troops disarmed the militia in Shaumyanovskiy Rayon. This confirms that all the moves to strangle the Artsakh Armenians, who are defending their basic and inviolable right of survival, are coordinated.

Zolyan added: I am sure that under the present conditions the Armenian legislature will appeal to all people of good-will, calling on them not to let oppression triumph,

and that all Armenians would use all the possible legal means to defend their freedom.

This outrageous act by the Azerbaijani leadership has created a wave of indignation in Artsakh. The soviet, trade-union, party and youth organizations of the autonomous oblast, the work collectives at the city and rural enterprises, cultural and educational institutes, and public organizations have sent cables of protest to the president of the USSR and the USSR Supreme Soviet. They demanded an end to the arbitrary acts committed against the Armenian population in Shaumyanovskiy Rayon and in Artsakh.

The telephone link with Shaumyanovskiy has been severed since this morning.

The lack of reliable information is further exacerbating the situation, which is fraught with unforeseeable consequences.

Azeri Officials Confer on Conscription Problems

NC1101222891 Baku Domestic Service in Azeri
1700 GMT 9 Jan 91

[Text] The meeting chaired by President Ayaz Mutalibov, first secretary of the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee, has examined the way the youth—those who are not yet conscription age and those who already are—are being prepared for military service. Also examined were problems in the current call-up of the republic's citizens for compulsory service. The meeting noted that the current call-up of the youths is continuing and that 50 percent of the draftees will serve in Azerbaijan.

Meanwhile, there have been cases of arbitrary desertions from the ranks of the military units. This behavior is inadmissible, and deserters must be brought to account.

These facts must not escape the attention of the local party, soviet, and Leninist Communist Youth League organs.

The meeting noted that the legal and social standing of the servicemen must be strengthened and that the conscripts must fully obey the military rules and regulations. The selection of the [word indistinct] youths for enrollment in the higher military schools must be further improved, and a strong material and technical basis must be established for the preparations to be made for drafting of youths for military service. Meanwhile, the [word indistinct] level of the youths, who attend [words indistinct] in the secondary schools, must be raised.

The meeting stressed the importance of the significant changes effected in the patriotic and international training of the coming generations.

Meanwhile, the convocation expressed gratitude for the steadfastness displayed by the staff of the headquarters of the Soviet Armed Forces and the internal troops of the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs in fulfilling their

humanitarian task of preventing bloodshed by warding off the attacks of the Armenian bandits. The convocation also noted the need for strengthening the Azerbaijani rayons which have common borders with Armenia. The need for upgrading the social and living conditions of the military servicemen and their families and improving [words indistinct] relations was also emphasized.

'Criminal Activities' in NKAO Reported

NC1401081391 Baku Domestic Service in Azeri
1700 GMT 12 Jan 91

[Text] The Azerbaijan Soviet Socialist Republic Ministry of Internal Affairs reported that although a significant effort is being made by the republic's government with the help of the military units to remove elements which obstruct law and order in the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast [NKAO], lawless activities which disrupt the peace continue to occur in various parts of the NKAO. The bodies of two people, Grigoryan and Kasparyan, were discovered close to the Stepanakert-Martuni highway in Martuninskiy Rayon on 10 January. They both had been shot.

A number of individuals launched an armed attack on the [name indistinct] cooperative in Askeranskiy Rayon on 11 January. (?Samgunyan), a cooperative worker, was wounded in the attack.

The measures that have been put into effect by the republic's militia workers at Stepanakert airport have obstructed the attempts made by criminal elements and other forces to infiltrate into the NKAO from Armenia with the intention to disrupt the situation. (?Akopyan) and Stepanyan, who are residents of Yerevan City, were arrested at Stepanakert airport yesterday. One and a half kg of narcotic substances were discovered in their possession.

The criminal activities of the separatist Armenians in the border rayons are also being dealt with resolutely. On 11 January, armed men fired on the [name indistinct] town in Kubatinskiy Rayon from Armenia's Gorisskiy and Kafanskiy Rayons. Militia Lieutenant Niyazov was wounded when the units guarding the town moved to repel the attack.

Foreign Investment in Azerbaijani Oil Sought

LD1101111691 Moscow TASS in English 1029 GMT
11 Jan 91

[By TASS correspondent Viktor Shulman]

[Text] Baku January 11 TASS—Due to deposits of hydrocarbon raw materials discovered on the continental shelf of the Caspian recently, Azerbaijan will again become an important oil production centre in the

USSR. Kurgan Abasov, general director of the Caspianmorneftegaz amalgamation, the country's largest enterprise in charge of the development of offshore deposits, told TASS.

Leading Western oil corporations are interested in developing oil and gas deposits. In order to draw foreign investments, the Caspianmorneftegaz and the Azneft organisation, which is in charge of developing oil and gas deposits on land, intend to establish joint ventures to develop offshore deposits and those on the Apsheron peninsula.

It is almost impossible for Azerbaijani oilmen to extract oil and gas from the Caspian seabed. After more than 50 years of exploitation, the resources of oil and gas at easily accessible depths have been practically exhausted. The Azerbaijani oilmen lack the necessary funds to extract the residual reserves of raw materials.

Drawing foreign capital, leading experts in the area believe, will make it possible to boost the production of oil and gas in Azerbaijan and the partial sale of these products on the world market will ensure an influx of convertible currency into the republic.

Speakers at an enlarged meeting of the Azerbaijan oilmen's council said that contacts have been established with many foreign oil corporations. However, they will not be given concessions to develop oil deposits.

Azerbaijani oilmen plan to develop deposits together with foreign partners that will win a contest for the best project to extract old and promising deposits in the republic. On a suggestion from the Azerbaijani Government, such a contest will be held this year.

Armenian Industries Miss Production Targets

NC1401165691 Yerevan Domestic Service in Armenian
1000 GMT 14 Jan 91

[Text] The computing center of the Armenian Republic's State Committee for Statistics has summarized the production results of the industrial enterprises of the republic for 1990.

The data in the production summary indicate the amount of damage sustained by Armenia's national economy due to the roadblocks and lack of power and gas. Suffice it to mention that six of the eight metallurgical enterprises under Union jurisdiction have failed to fulfill the contractual obligations for supplies. As a result, there was a shortfall in the deliveries of products, worth more than 24 million rubles, to the customers in the country and in the republic.

Union enterprises producing electrical equipments, machinery, lathes and tools, republican light enterprises, and enterprises in other branches also fell short of the targets.

Overall, 214 of the 493 industrial enterprises in Armenia have failed to fulfill their contractual obligations. As a

result, consumers in the country received more than 666 million rubles' fewer lathes, electrical equipments and other manufactured goods.

Armenian Government Takes Control of Magazine

NC1301083191 Yerevan ARMENPRES International Service in Armenian 1215 GMT 10 Jan 91

[Text] Yerevan, 10 Jan (ARMENPRES)—In view of the important role of the press in the agricultural development, the Armenian Republic Council of Ministers, having obtained the consent of the the Central Committee of the Armenian Communist Party and acceding to the wishes of the editorial collective, has decided to consider GYUGAKAN HORIZONNER [Village Horizons] magazine as the government's public-political monthly beginning 1 January 1991.

Central Asia

U.S. Economist Joins Kazakh President's Team

PM1101164191 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 10 Jan 91 Union Edition p 2

[Report by Oleg Stefashin under "Direct Line" rubric: "An American Economist in the Kazakhstan President's Team"]

[Text] Karaganda—The well-known American economist and Doctor of Philosophy Chan Yan Beng [name as transliterated] will occupy the post of vice chairman of the Kazakh SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] expert economic committee, which is headed by republic President N. Nazarbayev.

This announcement broadcast by the news agency ASIA PRESS had a major impact in Kazakhstan, since many know Chan Yan Beng as a leading specialist in market relations and also as one of the authors of the plan which enabled South Korea to achieve a rapid economic leap forward. The American academic says that he has had many proposals both from the Soviet Union and from other countries to take part in drawing up and implementing similar plans. However he responded positively only to the invitation from Kazakhstan, where he considers that extremely favorable conditions exist for developing market relations and setting up modern socioeconomic structures.

It is doubtless still too early to say whether one of the fathers of the "South Korean miracle" will manage to repeat his success in Kazakhstan. One thing is absolutely obvious: By holding the post of an extremely close advisor in the president's team, the American academic will have unlimited opportunities to influence the course of economic changes in the republic and to draw up strategic and tactical plans for it. As well as Chan Yan Beng, the expert committee will also include five other foreign specialists who the vice chairman will select personally.

Doctor Chan Yan Beng intends to settle temporarily in Alma-Ata, living in the same conditions as an ordinary Soviet employee, drawing his salary not in foreign currency but in "low-grade" rubles.

Kazakhstan's Nazarbayev on Budget, Pricing

LD1001232691 Moscow Central Television Vostok Program and Orbita Networks in Russian 1530 GMT 10 Jan 91

[Text] [Announcer] The USSR state budget as such does not exist today. There is the Union budget, the aim of which is to finance the central bodies. The second part of the state budget is the republican budget. Thus, the republics, in compiling estimates of expenditure and revenue for this year, are also coming up against the same problems as the center does. Our correspondent conducts a report from the joint sitting of the Council of the Republic and the Cabinet of Ministers of the Kazakh Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR]. It took place in Alma-Ata.

[Begin recording] [D. Baimbetov] The members of the Cabinet of Ministers and the top leaders of all the 19 oblasts of Kazakhstan spoke with alarm about the reduction of 1.5 percent in the national income which occurred in 1990 compared with the previous year, about the sharp fall in labor productivity in industry, Less housing, schools, kindergartens and health facilities were put into use than expected. The reasons are well known. Negative aspects in the economy of the whole country, the disruption in supplies and in horizontal links had their effects.

New tasks were outlined. Much here is linked with the program for Kazakhstan to go over to market relations. There was discussion of the balanced fulfillment of the republican budget in conditions of transition to the market, the principles of the forming of the Union budget, its relationship with the republics' budgets.

[Kazakh SSR President N.A. Nazarbayev] New wholesale prices have been operating since 1 January on industrial products. Kazakhstan is a republic which supplies raw materials to all regions of the USSR without exception. We should receive about R12,000 million in subsidies. But this is not some kind of handout that I am talking about but a return to Kazakhstan of the profit from the final product of which it receives less than it should. Therefore, either we must settle on contract prices and create very difficult conditions for all consumers—machine-building and light industry—because we supply their cotton and we supply 72 percent of wool in raw form, we supply 70 percent of raw leather to other works of the country—we shall put them in a difficult position [as received]. Therefore, subsidies are a state distribution of these funds which we have not received in order to support the raw material sectors.

As I have now been informed, although there are no final documents, if this question is resolved then we can draw up the budget of the oblasts and the republic and, so to speak, live on the basis of the provisional agreement which we intend to sign with all the republics of our country for 1991. [end recording]